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CV:

Kul Bhushan Mohtra was born on 9th Sep, 1957 in a village Amuwala in Kathua district.

Matric from BOSE, Jammu and Adeeb from AMU. Has been awarded Honorary Professor by School of Liberal Art & Languages, Shobhit University, Gangoh, Distt. Saharanpur, U.P.

Director General, Raja Ram Mohan Roy Library Foundation nominated him as his nominee in the Committee for purchasing of Books for UT Jammu & Kashmir. Incharge of Nanaji Deshmukh Library & Documentation Department at BJP state HQ in J&K.

Actively engaged in political, social, charitable and religious activities. Always striving to serve the poor and downtrodden of the society.

Main works-

A saga of Sacrifices: Praja Parishad Movement in J&K

100 Documents: A reference book J&K, Mission Accomplished

A Compendium of Icons of Jammu & Kashmir & our Inspiration (English)

Jammu Kashmir ki Sangarsh Gatha (Hindi)

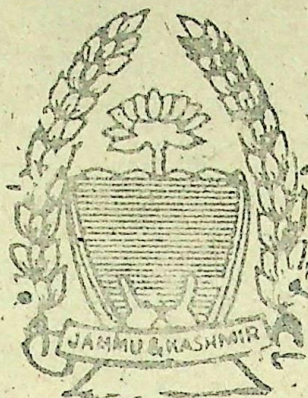
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FILE NO-1

Documents, Letters & Statements (1951-1952-1953)

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JAMMU AND KASHMIR GOVERNMENT

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PRESS AND PUBLICITY SECTION
JAMMU & KASHMIR PRAJA PARISHAD JAMMU.

Statement issued by L. Durga Dass Verma,
General Secretary.

Dated 30th November, 1952.

The November 29th, statement of Bakhshi Gulam Mohammad, is deplorable. The accusations levelled against Parishad are a part of the old fraud of the present rulers of the state to mislead Indian public opinion and secure support for the Republican Kashmir within Indian Union.

To say that Parishad movement "will only serve the interest of the enemies of state" and "weaken the state ties with India" is not only *fantastic* but beyond the understanding of every right-thinking person. How contradictory and paradoxical, it is that the government of which Bakhshi Gulam Mohammad is an important mouth-piece, while denouncing us as *reactionaries*, communalists and agents of Pakistan, simply because we have been incessantly clanning for the ~~most~~ application of the most secular constitution of the world, swears a hollow loyalty ^{to} in the same constitution.

The fact is that the government by ~~lining~~ us with communal forces of India and the pro-Pakistan block in the U.N.O. ^{is simply harping on its old} tune which we have buried long since. The present movement gives a lie direct to these charges.

The truth is that our life and death struggle for the last five years ^{CO-0. Nand Lal Deshpande Lokavilas, Jammu. Digitized by eGangotri} against the sinister designs

- 1- Honble Shree Jashubhai Mohan Prasad
- 2- Honble Shree Keshu States Minister
- 3- Honble RA Kishan Food Minister
- 4- " " AP Jain Rehabilitation Minister

New Delhi

RE. JAIN REHABILITATION OFFICER, JAINU DISTRICT AUGUST 1951
 1. STOP GADGAD LAND OWNED BY MAHARAJA HANSHUJI TAKEN UNDER
 LAND REFORMS ACT IN RAISAKI 2011 STOP UNDER RULES REHABILITATION RIGHT
 UNDER 200 CANALS GOVT. REHABILITATION STOP REHABILITATION CONSISTING LOCALS AND REHABILITATION
 CULTIVATED LAND ACCORDING RIGHTS STOP NOW WHEN WHOLE CROPS ABOUT 1000
 REHABILITATION REHABILITATION OFFICER JAINU CROPS CULTIVATORS ON 10TH AUGUST
 FORCIBLY STOP WHOLE CROPS 300 ACRES DESTROYED 7000 MAUND CROPS
 9000 MAUND FODDER DESTROYED REHABILITATION STOP REHABILITATION LAND BEING
 ALLOCATED REHABILITATION WHO HAVE NO PRIOR RIGHT REHABILITATION REHABILITATION REHABILITATION REHABILITATION
 AGRICULTURISTS STOP REHABILITATION CAUSED DESTRUCTION ALREADY REHABILITATION
 REHABILITATION WHO WENT ON HARD LABOUR BUT NEVER BECOME BURDEN ON GOVERNMENT
 JOINING REHABILITATION CROPS STOP CROPS PERSONS DESTROYED LANDS AND WITHOUT
 REHABILITATION REHABILITATION AND ANIMALS STOP REHABILITATION PERSONS WERE ON SATYAGRAH
 WITH THEIR ANIMALS AND REHABILITATION SAME DAY BUT REHABILITATION MAY IT SUSPENDED ON
 ASSURANCE BY OFFICIALS JAINU THAT REHABILITATION AND REHABILITATION COMING JAINU
 10TH AUGUST STOP REHABILITATION POSSESSION LAND COMPENSATION DESTROYED
 CROPS BEING ARRANGED BY THEIR ARRIVAL STOP ONLY REHABILITATION MINISTER CAME
 ON 20TH AUGUST VISITED DESTROYED CROPS STOP ATTACHMENTS COMPENSATION
 TAKEN ON HAND STOP FOR REHABILITATION POSSESSION IN ASSURED TO BE DONE
 ON HIS BACK FROM DELHI WHICH REHABILITATION WILL ALSO BE REHABILITATION STOP AS
 REHABILITATION REHABILITATION REHABILITATION DIRECT BY AND ON 20TH STOP REHABILITATION ALSO
 NOT CAME STOP REHABILITATION REHABILITATION GOVERNMENT NOT CAME IN OUR RIGHTFUL
 REHABILITATION STOP NO REHABILITATION DAILY REHABILITATION CROPS STOP ANIMALS
 REHABILITATION STOP REHABILITATION REHABILITATION REHABILITATION STOP REHABILITATION
 AND ARRANGE REHABILITATION POSSESSION REASONABLE COMPENSATION DESTROYED
 CROPS AND REHABILITATION 20TH PRO AND ASSET, PRO FROM REHABILITATION DEPT.
 OTHERWISE WE OFFICER REHABILITATION SATYAGRAH AFTER 1st STOP. REHABILITATION GOVT.
 REHABILITATION ACCORDINGLY

OFFICER PERSONS GADGAD

H.T.P.

SECRETARY OFFICER PERSONS
 GADGAD JAINU

DAIED 31-8-51

1. Honble Shree Jyotiraj Narayn Patilkar
2. Honble Shree Ketju States Minister
3. Honble Shri Kadam Pooa Minister
4. " " AP Jale Regional Station Minister

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2011. THE FOLLOWING INFORMATION WAS OBTAINED FROM THE JAIL RECORDS
1987 STOP CATHOLIC LADY ORDER BY MAHARAJA UNIVERSITY TAKEN UNDER
LAW ENFORCEMENT ACT IN RAIPUR 2012 STOP UNDER RULES FOR PROTECTION OF RIGHT
UNDER 180 CATHOLIC COUSIN REMAINS STOP UNDER COMBINING LOCALS AND REFUGEES
CULTIVATED LAND ACCORDING TO HIS STOP NOW WITH WHOLE CROPS ABOUT FIVE
REMAINDER REHABILITATION OFFICER JAMES ORDERED CULTIVATORS ON 16TH AUGUST
FORGETTING STOP WHOLE CROPS 360 ACRES ESTIMATING 7000 HUNDRED GRAINS
9000 HUNDRED MODERN DESTROYED INDIVIDUALLY STOP INTERCED LAND BEING
ALLOTTED REFUGEES WHO HAVE NO PRIOR RIGHT HOUSING REMAINS BEEN EVEN NOW
AGRICULTURE STOP DESTROYED CAUSED DESTRUCTION ALREADY REHABILITATED
REFUGEES WHO LIVED ON HARD LABOUR BUT NEVER BECOME BURDEN ON GOVERNMENT
JOINING REFUGEE CAMPS STOP ORDERED PERSONS IDENTIFIED LAWNLESS AND WITHOUT
MONEY FOR FEED AND ANIMALS STOP AGRIEVED PERSONS WERE ON SATYAGRAH
WITH THEIR ANIMALS AND BLOODS SAME DAY BUT NEXT DAY IT STOPPED ON
UNSURETY BY OFFICIALS JAMES THAT KASHI PRASAD AND HOWARD COMING JULY
20TH AUGUST STOP REFORMATION POSSESSION LAND COMPENSATION DESTROYED
CROPS BEING ARRANGED ON THEIR ARRIVAL STOP ONLY MINUTE MINISTER CAME
ON 2ND AUGUST VISITED DESTROYED CROPS STOP ARRANGEMENTS CONCENTRATION
TAKEN IN HAND STOP FOR REFORMATION POSSESSION IS ASSURED TO BE DONE
OTHERS BACK FROM DINNER WITH RETURN WILL ALSO BE HERE JAMES STOP AS
KASHI PRASAD RETURNED BRISGAR DIRECTLY AND ON 30TH STOP HOWEVER ALSO
NOT CLAIM STOP BEING POSSIBLE GOVERNMENT NOT CARRYING ME OUR RICHTEFUL
CHARGES STOP NO ARRANGEMENT DAILY REQUIREMENTS GRASS STOP ANIMALS
SHOOTING STOP FURTHER ACTION TAKING INTO CONSIDERATION STOP PRAY INTERVIEW
AND ARRANGE REFORMATION POSSESSION REASONABLE COMPENSATION DESTROYED
CROPS AND TRANSFER BOTH PRO AND ASSET. PRO FROM REHABILITATION DEPT.
OTHERWISE WE ADVISED RESUME SATYAGRAH AFTER 1ST SEPT. KASHI GOVT.
INFORMED ACCORDINGLY

11

SECRETARY CUBRID PERSONS
CHADLER PAYNE

DAILED 31-8-54

6.5 The Draft Constitution

On behalf of the Drafting Committee, its chairman Mr. G.L. Dogra submitted the Draft Constitution, alongwith two notes of dissent, to the Consembly on 10th Oct., 1956.¹⁸⁷ Mr. Dogra highlighted its fundamental principles viz., Parliamentary democracy, responsibility of the Executive to the Legislature; Joint responsibility of the Cabinet, separation of the various

187. *C.A. Deb.*, Vol. XII, No. 2 dated 10th Oct., 1956, p. 1.

powers of the State i.e. Executive, Legislative and Judicial; and finally the Rule of law.¹⁸⁸ It laid down what the future relation of the State with India would be. Its basic feature was that the State was an integral and inalienable part of India and would ever remain so.¹⁸⁹ All those powers which of necessity must belong to the Centre had been given to the Union Government.¹⁹⁰ Moreover all those powers which were already with the Centre, had been left as such.¹⁹¹ In other words they had transferred only those subjects to the Centre which, by their very nature, ought to belong to the Centre and in the remaining ones they had complete autonomy.¹⁹² The Draft mentioned that the State would consist of all those territories which had been under the sovereignty or suzerainty of the Ruler of the State till 1947.¹⁹³ Thus the unity and integrity of the State had been maintained.

Rights of the permanent residents of the State had been secured while they would also enjoy fully the benefits and rights of the citizenship of India,¹⁹⁴ viz., the freedom of speech, of press, of association, right to property etc.¹⁹⁵ Residents of the State were as good citizens of India as were the residents of various States of the Union.¹⁹⁶ A chapter of Directive principles of State policy had also been added to the Draft Constitution.¹⁹⁷ Through these principles—the State should combat ignorance, superstition, fanaticism, communalism, racialism, cultural backwardness and should seek to foster brotherhood and equality among the communities under the aegis of the secular State.¹⁹⁸

188. *Ibid.*, p. 1.

189. *The Draft Constitution*, clause 3, p. 3.

190. *C.A. Deb.*, Vol. VII, No. 2 dated 10th Oct., 1956, p. 10.

191. *Ibid.*, p. 10.

192. *Ibid.*, p. 10.

193. *The Draft Constitution*, clause 4, p. 3.

194. *Ibid.*, clause 10, p. 5.

195. *Ibid.*

196. *Ibid.*, clause 6, p. 5.

197. *Ibid.*, clauses 11 to 25, pp. 5 to 8.

198. *C.A. Deb.*, Vol. XII, No. 3 dated 22nd Oct., 1956, p. 18.

- judiced and an unalterable fixed majority in the local legislature.
9. Even the Delhi pact has not been fully implemented.
 10. Certain provisions of the Indian Constitution which are applicable to this State at present are proposed to be repealed.
 11. The capacity and powers of the Indian Union to take prompt and effective action in relation to this State at times of emergency have been crippled.
 12. Provisions relating to effective and independent audit and financial control have been omitted.
 13. Drastic and confiscatory "law less" laws are proposed to be legalized.¹⁸⁰

Pt. Prem Nath Dogra further added that the Constitution should not have been conceived and hatched in a secret manner behind closed doors, without associating any person unconnected with the Govt. or the Assembly even in an advisory capacity at any stage of their formulation or consideration. Rather such an important matter as Constitution, he emphasised, ought to have been circulated for public opinion before it was finally passed.¹⁸¹

Pt. Prem Nath Dogra, also submitted a representation to Shri Govind Ballabh Pant, the then Home Minister Govt. of India on 24th July, 1956.¹⁸² A copy of the memorandum, submitted to President of India on 1-10-54,¹⁸³ was also sent to him. He pointed out that the people of Jammu were opposed to J & K State having a separate Constitution, as distinct and different from the Constitution of India. The representation pointed out that Praja Parishad, which had the backing of a large majority of the people of Jammu province at least, was definitely opposed to any distinction being made between Jammu and Kashmir State and other Constituent Units of India as that would per-

180. *Ibid.*, p. 4.

181. *Ibid.*

182. A typed copy of representation was found in Jana Sangh's old files record, Jana Sangh Head Office, Jammu.

183. The memorandum bears the date 1-4-1954.

petuate a sense of separatism in a large section of the people of Kashmir which was being exploited fully by Pakistan to the detriment of the interests of Kashmir State as also of India as a whole. Pt. Dogra pointed out that the exact character of the Constitution being drafted, was not known to them. But indications were that they proposed to stick to their original plan of making the Constitution distinct and different from the Constitution of India in every material respect. They had learnt, he added, that it did not provide for the auditing of State accounts by the Auditor General of India, nor did it accept the supervision of Election Commission of India over the elections in the State; the appointment of the judges of the State High Court was being left to the discretion of Sadar-i-Riyasat, who was a nominee of the President and that Supreme Court of India was not being given full jurisdiction over Kashmir; Elections for the State representatives to the Lok Sabha were sought to be kept indirect and no provision for reservation of seats for Harijans through double member constituencies was being made. All this was most perturbing, said he. While concluding the representation he requested him to see that these objectionable features of the proposed Constitution of the State were removed and that it was brought completely in line with the Constitution of India.

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it is a matter of life and death and they are determined to perish
in it regardless of the sufferings and sacrifices which
this courage might entail for them.

It is pity that the Central Government have enquired from the proper quarters why this is being made and how for it is justified. On the contrary they have been more responsive to the opposite demand of the National Conference leaders, which is to the effect that this State should have a special privileged status different from that of other Indian States. The wonder is that it has never occurred to the otherwise wide awake Central Government that, in the ultimate analysis, both these demands be contradictory in their formulation and intent really spring from similar aspirations. But the fears of the Kashmiri leaders are wholly baseless, because admittedly they have received the most generous treatment from the Government and the people of India during the last nine years. On the other hand the apprehensions of the Jammu people are fully justified by the experience they have had of "So called popular rule" during same period. They have been reduced to the level of political untouchables in their homeland. Their genuine voice has been effectively shut out from the constituent Assembly. The Government formed by the conference party is neither responsible, nor responsive, to Jammu people. The doors of Government services are closed to them, and those already in services are being pushed back. The administration is corrupt and inefficient and it is difficult for common man to obtain redress in the ordinary course. Naturally the Jammu people seek ~~XXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXX~~ protection premission. Which some of the Indian Constitution and some and some organs of the central authority might possibly afford them. But the Kashmiri leaders desire to retain the best of both worlds: They demand autonomy for themselves in relation to the Central authorities of the Indian Union and at the same time they stick to undiluted autocracy in the shape of an unalterable fixed majority in relation to the Jammu people. In fairness they should accord the same treatment to the latter as is accorded

by them for themselves from the India Union. This legitimate demand of the Jammu people is ignored on the flimsy plea that it is confined to reactionary, communalist and vested interest.

The problem that has arisen between Jammu and Kashmir is essentially the same problem as has emerged between the whole State and the Indian Union. And fortunately it is also the problem that the Indian Constitution was devised to solve. Its wise framers were faced with the rival claims of competing elements in the body politic and they arrived at a nice adjustment of those claims in the frame work of that Constitution. This nice balance or adjustment makes it eminently fitted to provide a solution of the essentially human problem that faces us in this State. This is a strong reason why a solution of this problem should be attempted by applying the Indian Constitution in its entirety to this State.

Viewed against the above background the unsatisfactory character of the said proposals becomes quite apparent, in as much as they disturb the nice balance of adjustments that the Indian Constitution in its entirety was intended to be.

The safeguards afforded in the Indian Constitution are being denied to the people of the State. The Jurisdiction of the Supreme Court Election Commissioner and Auditor General to the State is being purposely avoided. This has definitely raised doubts in the minds of those who advocate for the application of the entire constitution. If the Kashmiri leaders contemplate fears in the Indian Constitution, what safeguards do they hold out to their counterpart in the State. The past experience has given a bad taste and promises still worse in the future. The said provision in the draft State Constitution with regard to the declaration of the organisations opposed to the draft as unlawful is undemocratic and amounts to enslaving the people and the Parliament will not be idle spectator to it. We appeal to the democratic forces in and without the state to rise to the occasion and see the danger to the country is averted and the genuine, patriotic word of the people of the Kashmir state for the application of Indian Constitution to the state is conceded. We appeal to the responsible

One constitution one flag and one anthem, these three constitute a "Nation". We, Indians, living in the state firmly believe that for the sake of Unity and Integrity of the Nation, the above principle holds good and should not be deviated from at any cost.

The accession of the J&K State with the Indian Union & being complete in all respects, it is but essential that the analogous contingencies should also follow simultaneously. After accession the State becomes an integral part of Bharat and hence the Indian Constitution should be applied in its entirety to the State. Any deviation from the principle encourages the separatist and dissident tendencies to cause disruption in the country. These forces are already active in the border areas of the country and the recognition of a separate constitution for the Kashmir State will tempt those forces to become more active and disturb the peace in the country.

It is also in the interest of the State and the people living therein that the Indian constitution should be applied in its entirety to the State. It besides other things ensures to the people living in India.

Justice: Social, Economic, and Political:
liberty of thought expression belief faith and
Equality of Status and opportunity.

It is not behoves to any faithful citizen living in India including Kashmir that he will deny any of those rights to the people living in any part of Bharat. We do not understand and as to why those who talk of the States accession to India being hundred per cent complete, still contemplate doubts and act up to enacting a separate constitution for the state. This will lead to the loosening the ties of unification of Kashmir with Bharat.

In certain circles there is a tendency to dismiss the demand of the Praja Parishad as a problem for legalistic or academic discussion and to ignore its human aspects, but

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Statement by Shree Ram Nath Dhalgotra Advocate General
Secretary All Jammu and Kashmir Praja Parishad.

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The problem that has arisen between Jammu and Kashmir is essentially the same problem as has emerged between the whole State and the Indian Union, and forunately it is also the problem that the Indian Constitution was devised to solve. Its wise framers were faced with the rival claims of competing elements in the body politic and they arrived at a nice adjustment of those claims in the frame work of that Constitution. This nice balance of adjustment makes it eminently fitted to provide a solution of the essentially human problem that faces us in this State. This is a strong reason why a solution of this problem should be attempted by applying the Indian Constitution in its entirety to this State.

Viewed against the above background the unsatisfactory character of the said proposals becomes quite apparent, in as much as they disturb the nice balance of adjustments that the Indian Constitution in its entirety was intended to be.

The safeguards afforded in the Indian Constitution are being denied to the people of the State. The Jurisdiction of the Supreme Court Election Commissioner and Auditor General to the State is being purposely avoided. This has definitely raised doubts in the minds of those who advocate for the application of the entire constitution. If the Kashmiri leaders contemplate fears in the Indian Constitution, what safeguards do they hold out to their counterpart in the State. The past experience has given a bad taste and promises still worse in the future. The said provision in the draft State Constitution with regard to the declaration of the organisations opposed to the draft as unlawful is undemocratic and amounts to enslaving the people and the Parliament will not be an idle spectator to it. We appeal to the democratic forces within and without the state to rise to the occasion and see that the danger to the country is averted and the genuine, patriotic demand of the people of the Kashmir state for the application of the Indian Constitution to the state is conceded. We also appeal to the people

Statement by Shree Ram Nath Bhargotra Advocate General
Secretary All Jammu and Kashmir Praja Parishad.

One constitution one flag and one anthem, these three constitute a "Nation". We, Indians, living in the state firmly believe that for the sake of Unity and Integrity of the Nation, the above principle holds good and should not be deviated from at any cost.

The accession of the J&K State with the Indian Union & being complete in all respects, it is but essential that the analogous contingencies should also follow simultaneously. After accession the State become an integral part of Bharat and hence the Indian Constitution should be applied in its entirety to the State. Any deviation from the principle encourages the separatist and fissiparous tendencies to cause disruption in the country. These forces are already active in the border areas of the country and the recognition of a separate constitution for the Kashmir State will tempt those forces to become more active and disturb the peace in the country.

It is also in the interest of the State and the people living therein that the Indian constitution should be applied in its entirety to the State. It besides other things ensures to the people living in India.

Justice: Social, Economic, and Political:
liberty of thought expression belief faith and
Equality of Status and opportunity.

It least behoves to any faithful citizen living in India including Kashmir that he will deny any of those rights to the people living in any part of Bharat. We do not understand as to why those who talk of the States accession to India have not been hundred per cent complete. still contemplate doubts and act up to enacting a separate constitution for the state. This will lead to the loosening the ties of unification of Kashmir with Bharat.

In certain circles there is a tendency to dismiss the demand of the Praja Parishad as a problem for legalistic or academic discussion and to ignore its human aspects, but

RESOLUTION NO 1

Improvement in the economic conditions of the masses is an essential pre-requisite for the integrated development and success of democracy in any country. It is why special stress is being laid on planning and economic developments in all States in India.

Jammu and Kashmir is a potentially very ^{rich} ~~weak~~ State. It has variety of mineral, extensive forest wealth, fertile valleys and many places of tourist attraction and a hard working population. Lot of funds have been supplied by the Government of India for its economic developments during the last 11 years besides very heavy spending done by it on its own account. All this should have gone in long way in improving the economy of State.

But unfortunately the facts are otherwise. Leaving aside a few contractors and friends and relatives of ruling clique who have made millions the economic condition of the general masses has rather deteriorated. Prices of food stuffs and other necessities of life have registered a steep rise without any corresponding increase in the purchasing power of the people. The result is all round economic distress and discontent.

The main reason for it has been the absence of proper planning, maldistribution of development projects, misappropriation of funds through ever growing corruption and nepotism in the administration. The way five year plan funds have been squandered to further party ends is a big scandal which needs to be thoroughly enquired into by a high power judicial commission.

The Praja Parishad has been from its very inception advocating a realistic and practical approach, uninhibited by any kind of ideological facts and ideas, to the economic problem. The main planks of the economic policy advocating by the Praja Parishad are-

✓ 1. LAND

Land being the mainstay of the large majority of the population of the State a realistic approach to the land problem and land reforms is essential for the improvement of the agricultural and betterment of the lot of the cultivators. To that end the

Praja Parishad demands that a -

1. maximum and minimum land holdings on the basis of ~~one~~ ^{one} and acres of well irrigated fertile land or its equivalent ^{be} be fixed and any fragmentation below the minimum and acquisition above the maximum should be stopped. The ceiling of ~~192000000~~ ¹⁹²⁰⁰⁰⁰⁰⁰ put in the state is unrealistic in the conditions of Jammu. The maximum holding should be able to yield enough income for the peasant to live and honourable and secure life because the object of land reforms is not and should not be discrimination against rural population as against the urban population. The Praja Parishad stands for removal of ~~any~~ ^{any} glaring disparities of income both in rural and urban areas. But it is opposed to the communistic principle of class war ~~any~~ ^{any}. Its approach to land reforms is guided mainly by the considerations of improving the production and giving the peasant a sense of initiative and ownership in the land that he tills.

2. Steps should be taken to provide irrigation facilities better seeds and improved implements to the cultivators on easy terms.

3. Steps should be taken to develop subsidiary small industries in the rural areas so that the cultivators be able to spend his leisure profitably.

4. Praja Parishad is opposed to cooperative and mechanized farming because it ~~will~~ ^{is} is communist that it will increase unemployment reduce production, reduce the peasant proprietors to the position of wage slaves and strengthen totalitarian trends in a country's politics.

2. INDUSTRY

Praja Parishad stands for maximum encourage to small scale industries. It is a considered opinion that the problem of unemployment which faces the ~~crux~~ ^{crux} of the India's can be met only through the development of small scale industries. To that end it demands that-

a) a liberal loans for the development of small

- b) facilities for technical training and guidance taken to popu-
in small scale industries
- c) An industrial survey of the state for determining what and
best suited for different industries and a complete effort to
develop these industries there. Praja Parishad strongly condemns
the present policy of strangulating even the existing industries
in Jammu.
- d) Maximum facilities should be given to the industrialist
from outside the state to attract them to invest their capital in
the mineral and industrial development of the state.

3. POWER

Cheap and plentiful power supply is essential for the proper
industrial development and for exploitation of mineral resources
of the state. To that end the Praja Parishad demands the top
priority be given to Salal Project for the production of electri-
-city. It will go a long way in removing the industrial and eco-
nomic backwardness of Jammu province in particular.

4. MEANS OF COMMUNICATION.

Another pre-requisite for economic development of the
State is easy means of communication. Praja Parishad demands
that immediate steps be taken to extend Northern Railway from
Pathankot to Jammu at the same time top priority should be given
to the construction of new roads linking Bhadrachal with Cham-
Srinagar with Poonch
Srinagar with Leh and Leh with Bakli. These roads are essential
not only for economic development of the interior but also for
strategic reasons

5. TOURISM AND TRANSPORT.

Tourist industry is one of the biggest and most
paying industry of the State. It needs to be further developed
while the Praja Parishad appreciates the steps being taken to
develop tourist centres in Kashmir valley it regrets the step
motherly treatment of the state Government towards the develop-
ment of promising tourist centres in Jammu province like Sarnar
Bhadrachal, Kishtwar etc etc. The Praja Parishad demands that spe-
cific funds should be earmarked for the development of these

tourist centres and all necessary steps should be taken to popularise them.

Vaishnavi Devi is the biggest attraction for tourist and pilgrims of Jammu province. Special efforts should be made to develop Katra and other places around it as first rate tourist centre. Proper facilities for pilgrims should be provided in Jammu as well which is the main base for this pilgrimage.

Success of tourist industry depends a good deal on cheap and efficient transport. But transport industry in the State has been hard hit by the evil of ^{giving} route permits to the favourites of ruling clique. The Praja Parishad demands that this evil be ended forthwith and a representative transport board consisting of representative of small transporters drivers and the Government be set up to regulate and develop transport industry in the State.

The Praja Parishad calls upon its workers and sympathisers to take all possible steps to educate and mobilise the public opinion about the ~~fourpronged~~ above mentioned five pronged economic programme of the Praja Parishad which aims at the establishment of conditions in which all sections of society may have equal opportunity of improving their economic lot

While welcoming the decision to extend the jurisdiction of the Election Commission of India to the State of Jammu and Kashmir the Praja Parishad wants to put on record its deep sense of disappointment at the way things regarding elections have been going on in the State so far. Out of 20 Election petitions concerning the elections of 1957 filed in Jammu province, only two have been decided so far. There is only one Election Tribunal which cannot be expected to dispose of these petitions even in the remaining three years of the tenure of the present assembly. The Praja Parishad therefore demand that the Sadar-i-Riyasat should appoint additional Election Tribunals immediately to dispose of the pending petitions and that all the prospective bye-elections to the state assembly be conducted by the Election Commission of India.

The position regarding the elections to the local bodies has been worse. Official interference there has been carried to the length of declaring defeated National Conference candidates elected and vice versa. This has reduced the municipal elections in the state to a pure farce and redely shaken the faith of the people in the democratic elections. The Praja Parishad demands that elections to the municipalities in Jammu, particularly of Bishna and Kathua, be held afresh under supervision of a judicial officer so that people may get chance to send their genuine representative to these local bodies.

Whereas I hesitated to react over the recent utterance of Pt. Nehru and Sheikh Abdullah as except acknowledging " Legitimate economic grievances of Jammu People " the remarks passed and motives attributed by the two leaders to the existing mass unrest in the state showed little desire on their part to meet or consider the fundamental demand of the State people to be one with India;- the political capital that certain opportunists have hastened to make out from these remarks it imperative for me to express our viewpoint unequivocally.

While we consider the timely reference to the deteriorating economic condition of the masses by a exalted as personality like Pt. Nehru, who has closely concerned himself with this unhappy affair, a step forward and that we are really heartened to note this welcome change in the Government of India's attitude;- but the institution of an commission to go into the economic side of the cause of present discontent and to recommend ways and means for its removal, as suggested by some self-installed groups, is tantamount to the gross betrayal of the real urge of the people.

Ever since, in accomplishment of our cherished mission to effect the unconditional accession of the State with Bharat on the confidence of the unquestionable support of the masses, we have had to warn the struggling people not to be hoodwinked by such piece-meal manoeuvres of the ruling clique. In the context of present events it is my considered opinion that the exceptional and disciplined mass- uprising has dethroned the fraudulent mansion of the party-in-power. All encounters and shameless attempts hitherto employed without least regard for democratic decency to create dissensions in the united front, the masses have so eloquently staged, the rulers of the State in their vain attempts to divert and confuse the public mind have taken recourse to such undemocratic tactics. It is their last bid to foil the determined efforts of the suffering millions.

Economic distress apart, the political dead lock between the people of Jammu and the party-in-power has reached a stage, where these eye-wash measures are likely to aggravate further difficulties than ease the present tension. Without prior of our fundamental demands for immediate application

situation and all that we have negotiations and round-table conference with. So far, Abdullah is immature and futile. After all negotiations on some fundamental basis. The reluctance to weigh our demand from a patriotic perspective and the illogical insistence on its stand Sheikh Sahib and his colleagues are little exhibiting a common sense and a desire to end the present stalemate.

Diplomatic adjustment in appointing officers and installing commissions is no solution to the real problem. It will further create complexities in the situation. Those of the innocent political immatures, who will fall a prey to such Government manoeuvrings do so at their own risk. I take this opportunity to warn them that their enthusiasm to become leaders and to be boosted up as "the humble servants of the people" they shall completely fall in the lap of Government;— thus for the very purpose they intend to serve.

We take this position because we rightly suspect the utility of such a vain enterprise. To be elated by such announcements and accept them on the face value shall depict lack of political judgement and an tragic deceit with the aspirations of the people. Therefore Sheikh Sahib and those who think like him both within and without the State, will do best to refrain from these tactics. Such attempts to divide the people ranks will not be allowed to succeed. Better it would be to leave the people to their own fate, and allow them to shape and fashion their own destiny.

In the end I want to make it clear to all concerned in unreserved terms that nothing short of full accession with India and the application of entire Indian Constitution shall be acceptable to Jammu people and any attempts to side-track or brush aside this genuine and honest conviction shall be resisted with the resources. To compromise with our declared foresaid stand shall amount to the utter disregard for the scores of martyrs who have laid down their previous lives for it and the unimaginable sufferings of the crushed masses;—as also an unpatriotic betrayal with the confidence the people have reposed in us.

Jai Bharat.

Durga Daks Verma
(Durga Daks Verma)
General Secretary, All J & K Praja Parishad
Jammu.

RESOLUTION

The accession of the State with the Indian Union and the recognition of the principles that Bharat including Kashmir is one country and the corollary that the whole country should have one Constitution naturally follows. There cannot be two constitutional set up in the same country and if the principle is allowed to be compromised in respect of one part of the country it will encourage the other parts to follow the track and hence the national integrity will give away to the disruptive elements to play their mischief.

/that The article 370 of the Indian Constitution was a temporary measure as is evident from the speech of late Gopala Swami Ayyangar. Argument is advanced in favour of a separate constitution of State on the plea that there will be international complications/might rise in a case request for separate constitution if not acceded. To ~~this~~ us this has little meaning specially when Union Home and Prime Ministers have time and again pronounced that there will be no Plebiscite in the State. The whole contest of the problem has changed due to the entry of Pakistan in the Bagdad Pact. Moreover the idea of separate constitution will continue to be used by anti-national element in the State that there is still some lacuna in the ~~xx~~ accession of the State with the Indian Union. To nip this sort of trouble Praja Parishad wants that adoption of separate constitution for the State will be inimical to larger interest of India.

Principally, historically and geographically Kashmir is a part of Bharat and hence the people living in Kashmir should also enjoy the same rights and has the same constitutional safeguards as the people living in the rest of India. To maintain the national integrity Kashmir should also have same constitutional set up as rest of country. This is the aspiration of the people living in Jammu & Kashmir State. It will restore normalcy and all uncertainty about the future of the State.

The x General Session of Jammu & Kashmir Praishad views the present circumstances with great concern. The session firmly believe that the application of Indian Constitution in its entirety to the State can alone restore law and order in the State and thus create confidence among the people about their lot. The session makes it clear that unless the constitution of Bharat is applied in toto to the State they would not be a party or would not suffer imposition on any step which is taken with a view to satisfy separatist and anti-national tendencies.

Amul 6 recent disclosures of the Prime Minister of the State

regard to have a separate Election Commissioner in the State is against the National wishes of the people. The past experience of the people during the last general elections and the civic elections has created a belief in the people that the Government does not believe in holding free and fair elections. The device of having separate Election Commissioner is intended to "win" the elections by dictatorial and in a most highhanded manner. The people living in the state want the sureties that the past methods adopted to reject the nominations papers of the opposite candidates and the distribution of the sealed ballot papers to their own people to be cast in favour of their own candidates would not be repeated.

During the past Elections the appointment of presiding and polling officers having party affiliations has shaken the confidence of the people in the fairness of the elections and has rather created a belief in them that the elections in the State would be as usual farcical and they would have no end of their miseries in view of these circumstances.

During the last Assembly elections some seats were reserved for Harijans. The Parishad is not opposed to the reservation of seats for Harijans but it strongly advocates that member constituency system as prescribed in the double ~~constitution should be introduced in the state~~ Indian constitution should be introduced in the state to safeguard the rights of people other than Harijans living in the state. There is no content reason why the elections in the state should be held in different times when elections are to be held ~~xxx~~ within fifteen days simultaneously throughout the country having different climatic and transport conditions in its various parts.

No census has been held in the state for the last 15 years and therefore Jammu Province has not been given adequate representation in the Assembly according to its population which is in no way less than that of the Kashmir Province and instead of equal representation being allocated to it the ratio of the seats allotted to the two

Provinces is alarmingly unproportional.

The Ministerial interference in the recent elections was quite evident. Encouraged by their interference the local executive officers also exceeded their powers and did all that they could do to please their masters-their Ministers-in-charge. It had its prejudiced the elections to a great deal.

The working committee of the Praja Parishad resolves that

- (1) The elections to the state Assembly should be held under the direct control and supervision of the Election Commissioner of India simultaneously throughout the state.
- (2) That there should be double member constituencies in the reserved constituencies and the two provinces be given equal representations.
- (3) That the two Provinces of Jammu and Kashmir be given equal representation.
- (4) That the people of the state should have a right to send their representatives to the Lok Sabha on the direct franchise system rather than the present nomination.
- (5) That the Ministry should be dissolved at least one month before the elections.

Praja Parishad stands for the complete integration of the State of Jammu and Kashmir with the rest of India and as such has from the very beginning been fighting for the elimination of the discriminations that are existing even at present between the people of the State of Jammu and Kashmir and the rest of India. It advocates that since Kashmir is a part of Bharat there can be only one Nation in the entire Bharat including Kashmir and as such the accepted dogma of one Constitution, one Flag and one President is equally applicable to this part of the country as well. But unfortunately for the people of the State this was not accepted by the rulers and also by the Government of India which naturally resulted in the said incidence of the year '53.

After the Pakistani raids over the State of Jammu and Kashmir the Maharaja of Kashmir on 26th Oct. 1947 signed the instrument of accession whereby the relationship of the State with the rest of India was revived and the State became an integral part of Bharat. Pakistan carried on its activities in contravention of all ~~existing~~ International Laws in the State wherefore the Government of India took the matter to the United Nations but the power blocs over there have not realized the true aspect of the problem and has unnecessarily lingered it for a long time. The people of the State living therein unmindful of the dilatory tactics of the power blocs kept the pace of the progress advancing and unequivocally affirmed the accession of the Maharaja State's with the rest of India. The representatives were taken in the Constitutional Assembly of India

main body of
the state and
the Govt of
Shri. Mohan

in the State

1. Enemy held Territory.

2. Article 81 modification to be deleted

entailing untold miseries on our brethren on the other side of the cease fire line for which we feel much aggrieved. It is our duty to free them from the clutches of their oppressor masters and to benefit them extend the benefits of our progress to them.

~~and they represented the state's sentiments over there.~~ It was at their bidding that article 370 was introduced in the Constitution and it was intended for a transitory period but some ^{leaders} rulers of the State took it upon themselves to consider the transitory provision of article 370 in the Constitution of India to a permanent statute giving the special privilege to the ^{leading party} ~~rulers~~ of the State to continue the discrimination depriving the people of the State to enjoy the ^{same} fundamental rights like their brethren in the rest of India. These leaders had lately behaved in such a manner that their own compatriots decided to ^{throw them overboard} ~~imprison them~~ and to launch prosecution against them.

3 The demand of the people of the State to end the discriminatory treatment being meted out to them forced the Government of the Jammu and Kashmir to recommend to the Government of India to extend some provisions of the Constitution to the State. These included the fundamental rights and also some safeguards for approach to the Supreme Court of India but the distinguishing factor of obtaining permit for entry in and exit of the State was continued. This was against all canons of good consciousness and added to the misery of the people. We at this time feel pleasure to congratulate our people for the success they have won when we learn that the Govt of Jammu and Kashmir ^{the Govt of India} have at last decided to discontinue this ^{Permit System} law from 1st of April, 1959. The privileged position still continues and the people of the State do not get free excess to the Supreme Court of India for the redress of the grievances. Even the High Court of the Jammu and Kashmir is

not
is/at par with the rest of India, and this brings
them to an inferior position, to get justice from
the rest of Bharat. The jurisdiction of the Supreme
Court of India under article 136 of the Consti-
tution of India ^{conferring} ~~conferred~~ special leave to appeal
is still denied to the people of the State, of
Jammu and Kashmir. The judges of the State High
Court, though they can be appointed by the Pre-
sident of India at the recommendation of the Chief
Justice of India cannot be transferred from the
State to any other State High Court in the rest
of India. Moreover the cases pending in the State
courts can also not be transferred there. It is
found that the State executive is exercising
undue influence. The people in the rest of India
enjoy this privilege. They get such redress when-
ever occasion arises. Praja Parishad, therefore,
also feels ^{it as a} ~~that~~ to end the discrimina-
tion between the people of the State of Jammu
and Kashmir and ^{the} rest of India the High Court of
the State should be brought at par with the rest
of India and the control and supervision of the
Supreme Court should be complete in all respects,
like the rest of Bharat.

The elections in the State though have been con-
ducted twice since the year 1951 but infact the
people of the State have not been allowed the
exercise of their free right to vote. The illegal,
unjustified rejections of the nomination papers,
the breaking open of the ballot boxes of the
opposition candidates and stealing the ballot
papers ^{cast} in their favour, Hooliganism,

*This blue
missing
The Review
part
referred*

*We are this time
feel that the people
are about to
accomplish their object
when we find that
The National Conference
which had hitherto
opposed the demand
of the people has
realized and have
joined in chorus
with them. We
congratulate them
on their ⁶ ~~this~~ ⁶ ~~very~~ ⁶ ~~valuable~~ ⁶ ~~contribution~~*

*which can be
but can be
considered for their fair
share if they and
further demand
that Article 370
be deleted
from the
Constitution*

goondaism, repression at the hands of so called
~~PEACE BRIGADE~~ *custodians of law and order*, Government interference from the
 lowest to the highest level are the orders of the
 day. The State Constitution provides a separate Elec-
 tion Commissioner for the State and during the first
 two elections the people of the State have *had a very bitter* experienced
 a ~~very bitter~~ taste and now they feel that as long
 as this discriminatory position continues and the
 jurisdiction of the Election Commission of India is
 not extended to the State and as long as the *overawed* present
~~Government~~ *regime* continues there can be no free and fair
 election, ~~as a result thereof no constitutional~~
~~and orderly Government can be set up to represent~~
~~the people of this State.~~ They firmly believe that
 along with the extension of the jurisdiction of the
 Supreme Court of India the provisions relating to the
 Election Commission of India be also extended to the
 State of Jammu and Kashmir, ~~and that the State should~~
~~be brought within the jurisdiction of the Election~~
~~Commission of India.~~ *Ull Article 370 of the Constitution*
of India is made repealed.
 We at this juncture feel exulted when we find that
 the age old demands of the integration of the
 services ~~be accomplished~~ *accomplished* soon have been so done in
 the recent past but this integration is not com-
 plete because the recommendations of the States
 Reorganization Committee are not carried in full.
 Whereas the said Committee has recommended that in
 all the States ~~it~~ at least a considerable portion
 of the Central Services should be from *other* provinces,
~~other than those where they are serving,~~ *Services* what cadre
 selected from the State have been *reposted* after
~~having received refresher course for a few months.~~

~~These officers were recruited by the present Govern-~~
~~ment and many of these officers have enjoyed and~~
~~been~~ are enjoying the benevolence of the present rulers
of the State and have ^{reciprocated the} obliged them and they too
have in return paid them in the same coin. As such
the people of the State have been complaining and
groaning under the mis-rule of the present Govern-
ment with the present set up and do not feel satis-
fied with the presence of the selected cadre of I.A.
S. ^{officers} still serving in the State. It is now
in the fitness of the circumstances and also carry-
ing out the recommendations of the States Reorgani-
zation Committee into effect that it is suggested
that the cadre of the State service selected in
IAS ^{and} in other Indian Central services be trans-
ferred from the State to other parts of the ~~rest~~
~~of India~~ ^{country} and fresh element brought in the State
from the adjoining provinces.

9 We cannot shut our eyes to the present circum-
stances in the adjoining countries to Bharat. In
Pakistan the failure of democratic set up and
the abrogation of the Constitution has resulted in
the establishment of dictatorial set up in that
country. This tendency of usurpation of the
constitutional rights of the people by the dic-
tators ^{is likely} are not going to have no effect on the
body politic of this country as well. Unless and
so far the people in this part of the country are
not made to feel that their democratic rights
will be safeguarded at all costs. In fact the peo-
ple living in the State are deprived of their

property of their personal freedom and of the rights that are conferred upon them under Chapter III of the Constitution of India. The enactment of article 35-C in the Constitution of India for the State of Jammu and Kashmir only has given ^{unfettered} power to the present State Government to imprison any body and every body whom they so like. This power has been invariably misused by the rulers of the State. Even in the very recent times those who ~~adxx~~ ~~adxx~~ dared to oppose the policy of the State Government are being thrown behind the bars under the Preventive Detention Act. The recent victim of this ^{Black} Act is Bakhshi Abdul Hamid. Land ^{Reforms} ~~have~~ were enacted depriving the people of their fundamental rights to hold the property ~~thxx~~ ~~with-~~ out giving them any compensation. Recruitment to the services is done on the communal basis ignoring merits which ~~ix~~ has naturally resulted in the deterioration ^{of} ~~and~~ efficiency in the administration. This deteriorated administration and inefficient officers cannot do justice to the people living in the State naturally they feel very much aggrieved and want a change over, which can only be effected by holding free and fair impartial elections to the State where the people may exercise their right without fear or alarm as it exists at present time. If these grievances are not redressed and the mischief is not eradicated the dictatorial tendencies that have developed in the neighbouring country are likely to flourish causing imperil to the democratic set up in the country.

Ticket 10 We can also not forget that ^{one of} the big powers

surrounding Kashmir have inspite of showing good will to us have taken upon themselves to usurp the independence of ~~Tibet~~ ^{by them} their tiny dependency. The principles of Co-existence even though very loudly applauded have been brutally murdered. The incidences in Tibet are causing alarm to the people of the State of Jammu and Kashmir and especially to the Ladhakhis who owe their ^{spiritual} allegiance to the Dalai Lama of Tibet, their spiritual head. It is also our duty to see that our neighbours ^{are} living peacefully and that those who adhere to the principles of the Co-existence and have taken pledge to stick to it do so in action rather than by expression. The independence of the small countries should be protected and it can add to the world peace. It is for the Government of India to take strong steps in the direction to see that our neighbours do feel security and protection of their independence. The matter should be taken up in the forum it deserves so that the independence of howsoever small nations may be ^{is and protected} respected at all costs.

4 We also take the opportunity to congratulate our people for the acceptance of the other demand of application of the Census Act of India to the State of Jammu and Kashmir and also that the census of the state be conducted soon. ^{we feel} It is our pleasure to thank the Government of India in ^{same} having passed the Constitution (Application to the Jammu and Kashmir) Amendment order 1959 whereby they have applied the Census Act to the State. Previously during the elections there have been discriminations between the two provinces but we hope that ^{Census} with the new Census would reveal

the startling differences and would ensure further equal representation to the people living in both the provinces.

18

Praja Parishad had since the year 1951 criticising the planless plans adopted by the Government of Jammu and Kashmir. The 1st Five Year Plan which was the beginning of the first adventurous plan of the Jammu and Kashmir State resulted in utter failure but the Government instead of ^{still} admitting other parties ^{taking} into confidence still embarked upon the second plan, on the same basis and without taking any consultation of the opposition parties for the framing of the progressive plans of the State. This ^{Plan} too was showing the signs of failure in its very infancy and we claim that our criticism has proved true and correct when we find ^{apprehension} that Bakhshi Ghulam ^{hear} Mohammad saying in his budget speech of 59-60 on _____ in the Jammu and Kashmir Legislative Assembly that 84 out of 92 schemes in the plans were without proper planning and of course without making proper assessment as to whether they were workable or not. This has resulted in a great loss to the ^{State} exchequer and the money ^{spent} of the State of Jammu and Kashmir / for the ^{on} expenses upon these thoughtless plans has gone waste. Those who were responsible for such waste ~~shank~~ are criminally responsible for it and deserve strongest condemnation. These plans have also not improved the conditions for which they were ^{intended} taken into hand. The food situation still grows serious and in spite of ^{The fact} defect that a great portion of the State has gone in the hands of the enemy imports have been increasing from 3 lac

maunds to 32 lac maunds per year. The recent rise in the prices ^{of food stuffs} has also untold miseries and woes and the poor people and the employees, in its wake instead of increasing their pays they have been faced to deprive of whatever they were getting by the increase ^{in the price of} the food stuffs. The ^{improvement in} production which the Government would contemplated would have been feasible by the introduction of the land reforms has also not borne any ^{fruit} improvement and instead we are facing decrease which clearly shows that land reforms taken into hand by the Jammu and Kashmir Government were also without proper assessment of the situation and the conditions of the State. Yet we find that anyx in ne order to hide its failure of improvement ^{ing the} of food situation the Government is now embarking upon another land reforms known as cooperative farming. This cooperative farming has in the European countries wherever taken into hand ~~has met~~ ^{met} a sad failure except of course in USSR AND CHINA where there is a totalitarian State and not a democratic set up. In Yugoslavia ^{Poland}, this cooperative farming instead of showing any increase showed a tremendous decrease in the food stuffs wherefore the Government of Poland and Yugoslavia gave up this cooperative farming and recognized the individual rights of holding of the tenants. After the ^{revival} introduction of the age old system ^{by these countries} the increase has been remarkably and much of the food crisis that it developed in those countries has subsided. The Government had ~~direct~~ ^{direct} and indirect control and ownership in the various spheres of the ^{public} life and, therefore, there has been an increase in the concentration of power. This policy instead of opening

new avenues of progress in the under privileged sections of the society has created difficulties in the proper development of the society and has degenerated immoral and anti social tendencies in the society. Based as they are upon foreign ideologies these policies have always been to our national character. They have given rise to more conflicts in the peoples minds. Complete control of trade and industry has also resulted in deterioration in these establishments of society. The recent proposal of completely annihilating the individual peasant under the scheme of cooperative farming will strike at the very routes of the democracy. The ^{farmer} ~~farmer~~ will be reduced to the position of a serf and the individual liberty would be gone. In our State there was such a system in vogue in one of the districts known as Kathua but the past experience of so many years has ^{divulged} ~~divulged~~ that this system is not a successful system for the ^{increase of} ~~increase of~~ food production. Before practically embarking upon this new proposal we suggest that it be not taken ~~from the kantharia~~ into hand and the lesson should be taken from the countries where it has miserably failed.

Praja Parishad thinks that the encroachment upon people's liberty is a ~~crime~~ crime against humanity and a way designed to crush the Indian values of life.

7

Jammu and Kashmir is an integral part of India. The people of the State under the leadership of Praja Parishad are determined to checkmate all efforts to break or weaken its organic relationship with the rest of India in any shape or form. The recent steps^P taken by the Kashmir Government towards its constitutional and economic integration with the rest of our country signify a victory of the Praja Parishad and a clear defeat of the separatist forces within and outside the State.

A natural corollary of this fact of integration is that the political life of the State be directly linked with the politics and political parties of the rest of India so that the economic and constitutional integration be strengthened through common political parties and activities as well. This is being steadily developed through the extension of the activities of the major political parties of India to the State. National Conference is already functioning as an extension of the Congress in the State. Communist party of India has created a strong unit in the State and the P.S.P. has finalised its place to open a branch in the State.

Jammu and Kashmir Praja Parishad which has been the pioneer organization in the field for full integration of the State with the rest of India, has been drawing active support from patriotic elements in India, led by Bhartiya Jan Sangh for which Akhand Bharat is an article of faith. As a result, the heart of Praja Parishad has been beating in union with that of Bhartiya Jan Sangh for the last few years. This unity of hearts has been further cemented by the martyr's blood of late Dr. Shyam Prasad Mukherjee and Jammu martyrs.

But of late some people have started an inspired campaign for confusing the public mind about the well recognised long establishment relationship of Praja Parishad with Bhartiya Jan Sangh with the set purpose of weakening it by depriving^{it} of the support and sustenance that it has been getting from the patriotic forces in the rest of the country who are wedded to the cause of Indian

Unity. If they succeed in their plan, Praja Parishad will will become an isolated local party in the mercy of C'm Communists-cum-communalists ruling clique of the State - incapable of getting help from any National party of India, all of which except Bhartiya Jan Sangh have their own branches in the State. It has therefore, become imperative for Praja Parishad to clarify its stand about the relationship with Bhartiya Jan Sangh in unequivocal lines so that there should be left no room for confusion about it and the doubt created by the interested parties in pursuit of its policies of divide and rule, be set at rest and for all.

This council therefore resolves that Praja Parishad being organizationally and ideologically closer to Bhartiya Jan Sangh than any other Political Party of India and in view of its existing, though informal relation-ship with that organization must be organically linked with Bhartiya Jan Sangh. It cause upon

the President of the Praja Parishad to approach the authorities of Jan Sangh to formally affiliate Praja Parishad with All India Jan Sangh upon the understanding that the former - All Jammu and Kashmir Praja Parishad - would have its own already framed constitution, own existing flag, and independent local policies and full right of secession.

Accession

In the turmoil that preceded the actual partition of the Mother Land into two parts and the creation of the State of Pakistan the Praja Parishad, keeping in view the logic of traditions and ideals of one Indian Nationhood and that the development and prosperity of the State is safe in the status joining with Bharat, decided and persuaded the then Government of the State to accede unconditionally to India. The events that followed fully endorsed the decision taken by Praja Parishad and proved that there was no better alternative to it. The British plans to isolate us and to afford opportunity to Pakistan to subjugate us were upset when the Maharaja of Kashmir following the advice of Praja Parishad leaders ^{acceded} to Bharat. We hold no brief for monarchical institutions nor we stand for their retention any longer but the role of the ruler of Jammu and Kashmir in causing accession of the State to India by signing the instrument of accession must be appreciated.

The people of the State resisted the invaders with great heroism and sacrifice because they understood it very well that their future was intimately bound with Bharat which could ensure to them their traditions and ideals of National brotherhood.

The anti national forces in the State that had, all along the national movement in the Bharat was going on, been playing a second fiddle in the hands of the British diplomats however kept themselves busy in the State. Some times they tried to find impossible and impracticable third alternative to the State's accession to Bharat at another they harped on the much condemned plan of Independence Kashmir raising opportunity for the Imperialist diplomats to muddle with the Kashmir problem and create difficulties in its solution. It was to strengthen such forces in the world that anti national forces in the State to undermine the oneness of the State with the rest of Bharat, by seeking protection and privilege in the garb of article 370 in the Indian Constitution.

The Parishad viewed all these circumstances with great alarm and saw the great danger involved in pursuing such alternatives which were weakening the ties of the State with the Bharat and thus endangering the peace and prosperity of the State. The privilege sought under article 370 of the Indian Constitution was being exploited for the interests of mischievous imperialists forces of the world, when the Parishad condemned the retention of this article in the constitution of India and demanded its detention. The Parishad felt it and made it explicitly clear that article 370 will afford the privileged ^{politicians} partitions of the State's accession to endanger the integrity of Bharat and to undermine a challenge the experiment of secular democracy being practiced in the country.

A flag, a constitution and an anthem these three sum up a nation has been challenged by those who profess to be the only nationals in the State. Indians are not one nation but different nations is their concept a step further to strengthen the machinations of the British Imperialists diplomacy in Bharat. A separate flag, a separate President a separate Constitution and the manipulation of territorial areas with a purpose are not reassuring evidence of the non-communal working of the administration of the State. The spirit behind as it has been working in the State for the last 7 years was turning the State into a ~~xxxxxxx~~ citadel of Imperialist intrigues. The Praja Parishad felt it and to undo the efforts of the administrators of Kashmir to weaken the firm and unbreakable ties with India and to maintain the integrity of the State with India started a movement to decide the issue once for all and to get redress ^{to} the economically oppressed and politically suppressed people of the State. Much of the dangers that were a head both for the people of the State and the rest of Bharat have been eliminated because of the sufferings,

and tortures borne by the people of the State and of Bharat at the call of Praja Parishad. The S.P. sacrifices of late Dr./Mukerjee to uphold the free of Praja Parishad has cemented the ties of the State with Bharat.

The Parishad feels that some forces in the State are still thinking of limited accession of the State with Bharat. Parishad is convinced that complete accession cannot be restricted or limited. In the present circumstances there can be no peaceful and honourable life for the people of the State in the State. The jurisdiction and powers of the Supreme Court have been curtailed to prevent effective enforcement of fundamental and other rights and full control over the State High Court regarding the appointment and removal of its judges differently than the rest of Bharat has been retained in order that the local judiciary may not become truly independent and embarrass the Executive authorities.

Govt spokesman in the State are intermingling Integration of the State with Bharat ~~unfairly~~ with that of merger of the State with Bharat. Parishad knows the difference and they have all along been fighting for the complete integration of the State with Bharat like all other 'B' class State.

The General Council of Praja Parishad re-interpretes their stand and resolves that Limited accession will not ensure to the people of the State what they have been striving for and a full and complete accession with its implications can only create a sense of peace harmony and security in the State. It will also put an end to the oft repeated intrigues of foreign diplomats in the State. It will also maintain the nice balance of adjustment in the Indian Constitution.

An appeal to Journalists all over

JAMMU & KASHMIR

by

L. Bura Bis Verma,

General Secretary,

All Jammu & Kashmir Praja Parishad, Jammu.

Dear friends,

I address to you from that unfortunate part of the motherland which is engaged in a heroic fight against the tyrannical rule of one party dictatorship; the state of Jammu & Kashmir.

Ever since our appearance on the political horizon of the state as an political opposition; to exercise necessary check and bring to public light all the enormities and commissions of the party-in-power for the healthy function of the democratic order of the state; we have made an ceaseless endeavour to justify our existence as such.

Apart from the fact that in discharge of our constructive duty to establish stable and clean political life in the state the expected, essential Government co-operation was never extended, our demands and suggestions never considered, repeated warnings not heeded to; and above all we were never taken in to confidence as entitled to by virtue of being the only opposition in the state over the issues of accession, etc. which we genuinely feel affecting our very existence. In view of the bitter experience which we have have had during the last so many years of our struggle with the National Conference, we are convinced that even the slightest support to it from home or abroad and unimportant quarter in its probability will prove disastrous and endanger the security as also the integrity of the country at large.

In order to give a fresh reiteration to what we have ventured to declare millions of times before, I reiterate it once more with full emphasis my command; ^{that} no amount of ^{such} support or humiliation can deter us in our path and we shall continue our stand; to cherish for a speedy integration with the motherland and to enjoy the

fundamental rights of the Indian Constitution as guaranteed and safeguarded by the august supreme court of India.

Our only crime is that we have exposed the political intrigue in its nakedness, which Sheikh Abdullah and his lieutenants wanted to conceal in a very deceitful manner from those poor Indians, on whose blood and toil he has erected this fraudulent mansion. The present advantageous position that Sheikh Abdullah enjoys, let me tell you, friends! is the accident of history and conspiracy of circumstances.

Try to understand this basic position of our movement before passing any verdict over it.

After having failed to crush the movement as claimed many a time quite egoistically by the executive authorities of the state they have furthered their undemocratic designs and served an unjust order over the local representative of the press agency not to despatch my statement under my signature and that of our publicity secretary, so that the power-mad rulers may get on free hand to suppress us without any knowledge to our brethren in India.

In all humility friends! I appeal you to scrap this unjust undemocratic illegal order, accord due publicity to our despatches and statements and thus serve the cause of India, its unity and glory.

Should anti-Bharat accounts continue to appear in the press it will unfortunately hit hard and threaten Bharat's integrity. I believe, I am within right to expect a favourable response to my earnest and humble appeal.

JAI BHARAT.

Durgadas Verma

Durga Das Verma,
General Secretary,

All Jammu & Kashmir Bharat Parishad, Jammu.

Copy of the above forwarded to Shri Ram for
Shri Verma for favour of perusal and publication.

By
L. Durga Das Verma,
General Secretary,
All Jammu & Kashmir Praja Parishad, Jammu,

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JAI BHARAT.

Durga Dass Verma
Durga Dass Verma,
General Secretary,

All Jammu & Kashmir Praja Parishad.

Copy of the above forwarded to *Editor Naya Samaj*

Jammu for favour of persual and publication.

Publicity Secretary,
All Jammu & Kashmir Praja Parishad,
JAMMU.

Yesterday, on the 11th of April 1954, the Jammu and Kashmir Backward classes Union Jammu held a grand March of all the backward classes (mazdoor and kisans March) in which about twenty thousand people from all parts of the State including over three thousand women and children joined. The March, with great enthusiasm, slogans (Mazdoor Ithad Zinda Bad, Bharat Mata Ki Jai, Rashtrapati Ki Jai, Sadar-i-Riyasat Zinda Bad, Bakhshi Ghulam Mohammad Zinda-Bad, Bakhshi Wazarat Zindabad etc.,) started from grounds of the Government Gandhi Memorial College and at 12.45 P.M. under the lead of Shri Kartar Singh, General Secretary of the Union, and passed through Raghunath Bazar, Purani Mandi, Moti Bazar, Kachi Chhawani, Parade Ground and gathered at Ajalgarh Ground at about 2 P.M. where an open meeting was held. Shree Madanlal President of the Union took the Presiding chair amidst applaus and cheers. Shree Kartar Singh General Secretary commencing the meeting function gave in elaborate terms, the deeply felt necessity of forming the Backward classes Union of the Jammu and Kashmir State, which classes have been groaning under the oppression and unjust treatment of the people, who, besides having all along been reaping the fruits of the blood-sweated labour of the former, have deprived the latter of even humanitarian privileges and rights. These backward classes are deteriorating in their economic and social life in so much so that other classes and Snaj have not extended them any place to sit among them. Different political parties and organisations have exploited them to get their support and backing by putting them under the sheer hallucination of bettering their miserable plight. But they are still going down and down. The General Secretary continued that it was a fortunate day for them that they had realised the importance of unifying themselves in an undisruptable strength. Now, when they had realised to the very depths of their hearts that any delay to make them stand on their own legs was most detrimental to their very existence, they should stand united and resolved to go ahead for achieving their denied human rights of existence and progress. Referring to the benign activities of the Bakhshi Wazarat in removing heavy taxes, opening new schools and colleges, sinking wells and canals, laying roads, opening Ayurvedic and Unani dispensaries and meeting with a generous heart the needs of the people, he demanded from the Bakhshi Government that these backward classes be ameliorated economically by providing them compulsory education, industrial loans, lands for cultivation scholarships for technical training, seats in local bodies and State Assembly, employment in Government services and extending to them an all out co-operation in bettering their lot as early as possible.

A resolution was also moved to represent to the Govt. for an early grant of the above urgent demands of the people. It was seconded by Shri Sain Das and other leading members of the backward classes and was passed unanimously by a show of hands and applaud.

Songs concerning the unity of backward classes were recited by Shree Harbans Lal, Durga Das Khaki and others.

The President addressed the gathering in bringing them to the very immediate and essential task of unifying themselves and thanked them for their wholehearted devotion to make the March and meeting a grand success. He reiterated that Mazdoor is the only constructing arm and force of the country and that the progress of the country as well as themselves lies in their hands only. He asserted that it would be most unfortunate the backward classes allowed themselves to lag behind in the race for progress and that they should not fall to the manoeuvrings of the other political exploiters when they have themselves seen the light with open eyes out of the past experience.

He referred to the provisions contained in the Constitution of India for bettering the lot of backward classes and for which a Commissioner appointed by the Government of India is touring various places. He demanded from the Bakhshi Government that a Backward Classes Welfare Commission be appointed with inclusion of representatives of the Backward classes Union so that effective betterment may be made in their plight.

Alluding to his recent coming out from Praja Parishad and groundless propaganda in the air, he emphasised in strong words that his reason for coming out of the Praja Parishad was a matter of principle as there had been serious conflict in the basic principles of democratic significance in the working of the Parishad. He warned the propagators to stop this propaganda immediately otherwise he will have to disclose the relative facts leading to his coming out from the said party.

The meeting dispersed very successfully with slogans of Bharat Mata Ki Jai, Backward Classes Union Zinda Bad, Rashtrapati Ki Jai, Bakhshi Ghulam Mohammad Zinda Bad, Shri Jawaharlal Nehru Zinda Bad etc.,

Dated Jammu
12.4.1954.

General Secretary,
JAMMU KASHMIR BACKWARD CLASSES UNION
JAMMU.

Copy to:-

1. The Hon'ble Bakhshi Ghulam Mohammad, J&K Govt., Jammu, for favourable necessary action and ackgt.
2. The Editor
for favour of ~~printing~~ publication please.

12.4.1954.

General Secretary,

Shri Mihir Lal Chattopadhyaya, Member of the Constituent Assembly of India submitted the following confidential report on Feb. 16, 1949 on his visit to Jammu to the Congress Party in the Constituent Assembly. It was later published by the 'Nation' of Calcutta.

Along with Dr. Raghuvira, M.C.A. I reached Jammu before noon on the 12th of February. We stayed at the Cosopolitin Hotel there. Traders, students, congressmen, members of the National Conference, Lawyers, Harijans, refugees from Mirpur and Poonch areas, women's branch of National Conference and people representing various intrests came to meet us at the hotel. We visited the office of the National Conference and also took the opportunity to meet Sheikh Sahib at his residence. The people with whom we came in contact were all hindus. We had neither opportunity nor time to meet the Muslims.

We found that Sheikh Sahib was highly respected by the Hindus; but they have numerous grievances against the adminstration. They are conscious that the present gams government should be strengthened by them in order to win the plebiscite. But surprisingly enough, we found that the Hindus without any exception spoke with disappointment about the prospect of winning the same. They were outspoken in their confirmed opinion that whatever Sheikh Abdula might say, not many Muslims would vote in favour of India. This is their strong conviction acquired from their daily direct contact with the people of the locality. They said that between Sheikh Abdulla and Maharaja, the people were overwhelmingly in favour of the former. But if it were a choice between India and Pakistan, not even ten per cent of muslims would for India. This exertion by some responsible people, has really surprised us and we are hastening these lines to inform our Govt. about it.

The people of Jammu are very eagre that there should be a separate Plebiscite for that Province minus the Area now held by the Azad Kashmir Govt. Their opinion is that if separate voting is not arranged province of Jammu will be lost to India. They are hopeless about Kashmir but keen about Jammu getting joined to Indian Union.

People complained to us about open propaganda of Sheikh Sahib and his party for deposing the Maharaja. They are greatly disturbed about it and their fear is if the Maharaja is made to abdicate and the State also goes over to Pakistan, on account of the Plebiscite, the Hindus will have to migrate to India and the History of west Punjab will be repeated both as regards massacre and displacement of population. The demand of Sheikh Sahib to depose the Maharaja has made the Hindus panicky to the extent of what we have seen in the case of citizens of non-regulated areas during the British Adminia. The Hindus, for whatever reason it might be, considered that their future is blasted. They complain that the administration is autocrate, public opinion is smothered and there is

State at present. Their complaint is that too much eagerness to appease Sheikh Sahib in order to win the plebiscite through the strength of his personality has not been balanced by any enquiry as to how the minorities feel about the administration. They urged that important people from India should come and see their lot and acquire direct knowledge about their future Plebiscite without depending exclusively upon what the Govt of Kashmir report about the matter.

In our talk with Sheikh Sahib, we found him over zealous about the abdication of the Maharaja. He holds him responsible for the massacre of muslims in the State. He demands an enquiry and, if need be, a trial. He spoke in clear terms that if the Maharaja was not deposed, he could not with any certainty, sufficiently inspire the muslims to vote for India and make sure of the victory. We were told by the people that open propaganda was being carried on by Sheikh Sahib and the National Conference to depose the Maharaja. We were further told that at mohalla meeting of the National Conference in Jammu City the resolution for the abdication was defeated by 18 votes to 3.

We need not say anything about the corruption in the administration as it was reported to us. But we felt outside people had not so far come much in contact with Hindu masses there. To get a correct idea as to how they feel, some responsible people should go there and independently meet the people and form their opinion both about the administration, future plebiscite.

They gave us some names, who, in co-operation with the raiders and the Pakistan army, were responsible for the massacre of innumerable Hindus, but have not been placed in responsible positions in the very same area, as the result of which refugees are reluctant to go back to their old places.

The people of Mirpur say that a very big number of their womenfolk are being held in the area now administered by the Azad Kashmir Govt. If provided adequate military escorts, they are too eager to go and search them out.

It was a general complaint that the Govt, was partial towards the Kashmir Province as compared to Jammu. In Kashmir the supply of commodities is much better, the prices thereof are much cheaper though Kashmir is further off from India where the supply goes.

They have begged of us that one or two important legislators and Congress Leaders from India should visit Jammu and acquire direct knowledge of the place so that there may be no occasion to lament later on if even Jammu is lost to India in the Plebiscite.

In conclusion, I would like to mention that Kaviraj Vaishno Gupta, a refugee from Jammu living in Delhi, accompanied us after getting necessary permit. It was through his efforts and some others also that we could come in contact with large

of people representing

endorsed our permits on our return journey and his was
at that time on pretext of local enquiry. On reaching Delhi on
night of 13th Feb. I received a telegram informing that he has
been arrested.

P.S. I am further informed that three M.L.A's, one Vice-
President of Jammu Municipality and a B.A., B.T. teacher, have af-
terward been arrested.

President

RESOLUTIONS

UNDER the leadership of Sheikh Mohammad Abdullah, the bogus Consenbly has quite contrary to expectations and assurances of Hon'ble Prime Minister of India and Government of India, manauoured to misuse the Session of Consenbly to hurry through two basic resolutions whereby under-heated passion of revenge and long cherished personal spite and prejudices, the State Emblem has been changed and contrary to the implications of constitutional alliance between the State and the Indian Union, when the former has acceded to the latter and the hereditary monarchy has been terminated contrary to all cannon of constitution and procedure thus throwing a challenge to the Constitution of India itself. The speech of Sheikh Mohammad Abdullah made on the introduction of his resolutions is fabrication of lies and is Gall and Wormwood and full of venomous abuse and recriminations against not only Maharaja Harisingh Ji and the house of Maharaja Gulab Singh, but against Dogras and rajputs in particular. It is a known fact of History that Maharaja Gulabsingh Rular of Jammu founded the State of Kashmir by conquests and thus brought under one unifying control different political entities which were made into one State of Jammu Kashmir. Sheikh Abdullah and his Cabinet are the creation of Maharaja Harisingh and the Constitution has come into existance at the word of Yuvaraj Karansingh (a minor) so it does not possess constitutional powers like Consenbly of India which on the termination of British Rule framed a Constitution for the Union of India where as Sh. Abdulla's Consenbly was not competent so to frame without the Constitutional Head, Maharaja's consent, whose sovereignty exists, the adoption of these resolutions has created an intricate position, visa-vis Union of India and its Constitution and has cause wide spread resentment in the people of State and the Dogras in particular. The Rajputs are quite alive to the moving spirit of the time and democratic needs of the present days, but what S.M. Abdullah has been doing past four and half years and what his nominated Consenbly have done, has amply demonstrated the inner working of his biased mind. The Sabha after careful, thorough and due consideration surveying the several events since October 1947 upto date has come to the unavoidable conclusion that the attemp of Sheikh Abdullah and his Government has been from the very beginning to wreak the vengeance on Rajputs in general and the Ruling House in particular.

To establish for personal end a Republic of State within the Republic of India, thereby dragging one State into a honestnest of communistic ideology which no citizen of State can allow to shape. It is, therefore, hereby resolved that since the two resolutions adopted by this bogus Consenbly are direct challenge to our self respect, rejection of Constitution of India altogether. We most respectfully appeal to the President of India to intervene and annul the resolutions adopted by the unrepresentative Kashmir Assembly and restore and maintain the integrity of State by continuing the hereditary monarchy as well as the flag so long as the latter is not replaced by the Constitutional decisions of Indian Parliament and treat the State of Jammu and Kashmir as full fledged Part B State for all intents and purposes.

That in view of the behaviour of Sheikh Abdullah and his Government and Consenbly, the people of Jammu shall have to consider whether they can continue giving support to a Government that has struck at the very roots of unification and internal solidarity.

President,

Sri Amar Kashtriya Prantik Sabha Jammu Tawi.

Copy to :—

1. The Hon'ble President of India, Republic of Bharat, New Delhi
2. The Hon'ble Prime Minister of India, "
3. The Hon'ble Minister for States, Government of India, "
4. The Hon'ble Minister for Jammu and Kashmir, Government of India, "

Whereas it has been my endeavour and that of the organization I have the honour to represent, to exercise necessary restraint in bringing to public light all the commissions and omissions of the Government for the healthy function of the Democratic set up of the State for the last so many years of our existence, lest exposure at this stage of our country's history may not strengthen the hand of our common enemy, it still remains an unsolved problem with me, as to what necessitated my arrest and the reign of terror thereafter.

In spite of the fact that our assertions during and after the student protest and incidents thereafter, to the effect that the said students' movement was going on quite independent of our guidance and patronage have fully been substantiated, I still stand by my February 8th statement, demanding the institution of an independent enquiry commission to prove the validity of the Government's action, which the latter is justifying so much even now.

Ever since the installation of present Government in the State all political detentions without trials have been carried out simply on political differences. Quite astonishingly I find not even a single instance when present Government has cared to try a political detainee in an open court and furnish him with every legitimate facility that the law entitles him his defence. Such an attitude on the part of the present Government being undemocratic is quite unbecoming for the much propagated character of the present regime. The natural result of all this is a sense of despair and insecurity prevails throughout.

The present dramatic closure of the chapter leads to the belief that all the political opposition shall not be merely suppressed in the set up of the State and shall therefore be an occasional part of the democratic irresponsibility and Police lock ups. In view of the fact that the party in power takes fancy to reserve for itself, it was expected shall establish decent political precedents in dealing with opposition. But it is unpleasant to remark that our experience of the last 5 years is fully disappointed us in our expectations. Therefore the political as well as economic betterment and political amelioration is the result of the lack of realism and civilised diplomacy of the rulers of the State. I am even now the Government would realise its duty and acknowledge boldly its errors it is guilty of committing in these years of its misuse of power.

Whereas it has been my endeavour and that of the organization I have the honour to represent, to exercise necessary restraint in bringing to public light all the omissions and commissions of the Government for the healthy function of the Democratic set up of the State for the last so many years of our existence, lest exposures at this stage of our country's history may not strengthen the hand of our common enemy, it still remains an unsolved problem with me, as to what necessitated my arrest and the reign of terror thereafter.

In spite of the fact that our assertions during and after the students' protest and incidents thereafter, to the effect that the said students' movement was going on quite independent of our guidance and patronage have fully been substantiated, I still stand by my February 8th statement, demanding the institution of an independent enquiry commission to prove the validity of the Government's action, which the latter is justifying so much even now.

Ever since the installation of present Government in the State all political detentions without trials have been carried out simply on political differences. Quite astonishingly I find not even a single instance when the present Government has cared to try a political ^{to} ~~denue~~ in an open court of law and furnish him with every legitimate facility that the law entitles him for his defence. Such an attitude on the part of the present Government besides being undemocratic is quite unbecoming for the much propagated popular character of the present regime. The natural result of all this is that a sense of despair and insecurity prevails throughout.

The present dramatic "closure of the chapter" lends further belief that all the political opposition shall not be ~~spared~~ spared in the present set up of the State and shall therefore be an occasional prey for the ~~beaurocratic~~ bureaucratic irresponsibility and Police lock ups. In view of the claim that the party in power takes fancy to reserve for itself, it was expected that it shall establish decent political precedents in dealing with opposition. But it is unpleasant to remark that our experience of the last 5 years has fully disappointed us in our expectations. Therefore the political capital that the Pakistan Government takes out from the mass risings, directed for economic betterment and political amelioration is the result of sheer lack of realism and civilised diplomacy of the rulers of the State. I wish even now the Government would realise its duty and acknowledge boldly the errors is guilty of committing these years of its misuse of power, and

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thereby worthy political institutions to be followed by others.

Now with our release, when the eclipsed political horizon of the State is somewhat clear before me, and all out stock-taking is necessary in order to formulate our future policy.

It is painful to note that the Government has rushed through the most undemocratic method of nominating the States' representatives to the Indian Parliament, in quite disregard of our incessant clamour for their election, the practice which was followed in other States of India. Not only this the leaders of the party in power had the courage the express unreservedly and in ~~such~~ unequivocal terms, their mind in the future relationship of the State with India. The said desire to establish an autonomous Republic within ~~India~~ India must have disillusioned the common tax-payer of India, whose sucked blood is continuously being injected into the veins of the present State Secretariate by the Indian exchequer, and who has so far reciprocated our occasional jerks to rise and resist this sinister move, with indifference, but it confirms by fears expressed so often through press and platform.

Before my arrest I was in correspondence with the President of India on the subject of getting elected the States' representatives to the Indian Parliament, but what did I know that the party in power is out to play with popular sentiment and gage the voice for such an election. The doubt that the Government did not intend to throw the choice for the people's verdict is confirmed and needs therefore no proof.

Mr. Beg's declaration, which Sheikh Sahib has fully endorsed, that the Constitutional relationship of the State with India, shall be that of a "Republic within Republic" raises a pertinent question, viz a viz purpose of sending our representatives to the Indian Parliament?

If we are Pakistanians because we clamour for Indian Constitution, we are reactionaries, because we demand election of the representatives for the Indian Parliament and we represent disgraced feudal elements, because we court arrest for complete and unconditional accession of the State with Bharat, then what is the wisdom of having any relationship with India.

earnestly pray that reason may prevail upon the National Conference leaders, realise the great potential benefit that the unconditional accession and complete integration with India shall bring in its wake for us. On the contrary the proposed Republican set up shall lead to the Balkanisation of and shall in the ~~end~~ weaken States' position both economically and politically.

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The situation demands a revision of policy and all out withdrawal from the original stand for the mutual benefit of India and the State.

While concluding I shall, while appealing to all the democrats and patriots of Bharat to wake up and prepare for this great threat to the integrity of our motherland, demand emphatically of the Government to restore all the civil liberties and end once for all the existing police harassment. The continued detention of one of my colleague's Shri Makhanlal is causing great concern to all of us and I wish him to be released immediately.

In the end I expect that not only the sympathies of India, but also all the resources at its disposal to help us in realisation of our goal which is really India's aim.

Jai Bharat.

Dated 8.4.1952.

(PREM NATH DOGRA)
PRESIDENT,

ALL JAMMU & KASHMIR PRAJA PARISHAD.
JAMMU.

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for the state to perpetuate separatistic mentality.

In the opinion of the Praja parishad , and view of the present critical international situation when the two strong blocks of the world are greedily maneuvering for having the state as their strategical point for the impending war, and its case in the Security Council is being mishandled by interested persons. This separate constitution will only encourage fissiparous tendencies by keeping alive a feeling of separation and ~~duality~~ duality between the state and the rest of India. The dominating influence of communists and communalists in the state Govt. helps to support the above idea and is a matter of grave anxiety. Under such circumstances maintaining of colidarity and neutralit can hardly be expected.

Such an atmosphere in the state of this juncture is very dangerous and requires a strong remedial measure to set it right.

It is therefore very essential that the state should be brought fully under the constitution of India by repealing the Article 370 of the constitution . This will create a sense of security among the faithful elements of the State and demoralize the unpatriotic groups .

In these times when war have no discrimination regarding boundaries and peoples it goes without saying that patriotism, moral and discipline of the nation prove to be more urgent and necessary than Military power alone. Along with the explosive ~~situation~~ situation in the State the administration is also corrupt and bad. The last general Elections Municipality ~~elections~~ elections bear ample proof of this moral degradation of the party in power. The public is generally prone to follow the rulers and if the public also copies the ruling party in the state then both the Govt. and the public are doomed.

Thinking rationally and realistically the conclusion we came to is that the development and high character and feeling the spirit of patriotism are the most essential necessities only true education can solve this problem. The present system of education has caused deterioration in character and produced misguided vain and desperate money seekers character is even more important than the vigour of body keenness of intellect there is need for instilling proper religious (spiritual) instruction

to students in schools and colleges.

Praja Parishad stands for a free and compulsory primary education through medium of instruction proposed by the parents. The ~~the~~ Devnagari script will be the script prepared. The secondary education will be imparted in those subjects best liked by the students to develop smoothly their natural talents. The medium of instruction will be the original language but Hindi will be a compulsory subject at this stage. The higher Education is proposed to be given only ~~the~~ in residential Universities or colleges ~~grown with a rapid~~, Because that is the age when students body, brain and desires grow with a rapid pace and if he gets all the twenty four hours intensive and extensive atmosphere full of vigour, discipline simplicity, morality and mutual love with social and National views. Then and then alone the enormous energies in him can be best

The attitude of the Praja Parishad with respect to the question of the elected Head of the state has been made unmistakably clear on several occasions, but attempts continue to be made in interested quarters to misunderstand and misinterpret it: it therefore becomes necessary to clarify this attitude once again.

11. As the fundamental stand of the Praja Parishad is the for the full and unqualified accession of the state to the Indian Union like other Part B states, it follows that we are in favour of the Ruler of the functioning as Raj Pramukh of the state as on other similar states. It follows also:-

1) That we are opposed to the Head of the states being appointed or removed at the behest (or, as it euphemistically called, on the recommendation) of the Kashmir Assembly which, consisting as it does merely of the nominees of the National Conference party of Kashmir, represents no body else in the State and least of all in the Jammu Province.

2) We are opposed to the Head of the state being designated as,,

Saddar-i-Ryasat which means in English President within of the state, because we think there should not be two president within the same Republic or Union of States.

3)

We of the
3) We are also opposed to the Head of the state being elected by the local legislature periodically for a number of years, because this will make him a play-thing of local politics and a mere puppet of the unalterably fixed communal majority party in that Legislature.

III. The above explains the basic attitude of the Praja Parishad towards this question, but there are a few other considerations which are also relevant to this question, namely:-

(i) The so-called Constituent Assembly of Kashmir being a creature of the Ruler and deriving from him whatever authority it possesses has no legal and constitutional power or moral justification for deciding the fate of that very Ruler.

(ii) That the Instrument of Accession signed by Maharaja Hari Singh ~~the~~ as the legal Sovereign of the State, and by the Governor General of India, is in the nature of a solemn contract or treaty which cannot and should not be repudiated or modified unilaterally by one party to it, much less at the behest of an Assembly, which was never a party to it.

(iii) That the present attitude of the National Conference Leaders towards the Ruler from whom they derived authority smacks of vindictive and communal bias and does not seem to be consistent with the best interest of India or of the State.

(IV) That the spectacle of the Hon'ble President of the Indian Union, acting mechanically on the recommendations of an unrepresentative body in the matter of recognizing or removing the Head of the State, without regard to the merits or demerits, fairness or unfairness, of the recommendations and without ascertaining the wishes of the elements unrepresented in the Assembly, will be highly undignifying and should not be presented to the world.

(v) That it is unwise and inexpedient at this juncture to remove the one authority which has provided the sole unifying link for and has commanded the allegiance of the heterogeneous elements constituting the State of Jammu and Kashmir for more than a century.

(vi) That it is unwise and inexpedient in the interest of the State as well as of India, to mete out a discriminatory treatment to the Ruler of the State so long as Rajpramukhs continue in other States like Hyderabad. (Prem Nath Dogra)

President,
ALL J & K PRAJA PARISHAD JAMMU.

Following is the full text of the Statement issued by
L. Duran Dass Verma, General Secretary, All Jammu & Kashmir
Praja Parishad, Jammu.

Few days back a great alarm was sought to be created by Mr. Ram Piara Saraf by introducing an adjournment motion in the so called Jammu & Kashmir Constituent Assembly, for discussion of an alleged throwing of a "bomb" on the house of a National Conference Worker. He attempted to make the Hindulayan of a mole hill in giving an absolutely baseless and mischievous account of a trifle incident and staging a walk-out on rejection of the motion by the house.

The facts ascertained by me by a searching inquiry on spot through my own agency show beyond any shadow of doubt, that the whole story is far from reality. The explosive named as a "bomb" was a country made harmless small "Patakha" not susceptible of any human injury.

The allegation of the Hon'ble member that the above explosive was thrown by some Praja Parishad worker from outside is belied by the very situation of the house itself because an outside throw is not possible from any direction. The son of the said prominent national conference worker is a known mischievous boy interested in explosive preparations. Few years back he was wounded as a result of such an experiment. Being afraid of his parents the boy gave the present explosion this fabricated version.

In face of these facts Mr. Ram Piara Saraf, the mover of the motion has behaved in a most irresponsible, sentimental and prejudicial manner. The exploitation of this trifle incident in levelling charges of violence on the Praja Parishad reflects the mentality and the standard of the Hon'ble member, who is also a prominent member of the National Conference High Command.

Praja Parishad condemns and challenges this baseless allegation and would welcome an independent inquiry into the matter to bring the facts to light.

JAI BHARAT

Madan Lal

Publicity Secretary,
All J & K Praja Parishad, Jammu.

ALL JAMMU & KASHMIR PRAJA PARISHAD
JAMMU

No.

Dated 1st December 1952.

Sir,

The Anti-Democratic attitude adopted by the Government of Jammu and Kashmir in suppressing the national and psychological aspiration of the State People to be with India, like other integral parts of the Union, is too well known to need any further comment. But, the attitude of the Indian ~~Presses~~^{higher}, particularly which has constantly given prominence to the official version of the present movement of the Parishad, is highly unfortunate.

The P.T.I special representative, who has been specially ~~laid~~^{lodged} by the Government in an palatial bungalow here in Jammu, is constantly endeavouring to paint the Parishad movement according to the dictates of the Press Information Bureau of the State. As a result, the whole responsible Press of India is misled to the detriment of the Country's interests as a whole.

The present struggle is nothing but an *upsurge* of the Popular determination to effect the unconditional accession of the State with India and thus line its fate, with the rest of Bharat. The sufferings and sacrifices that we have insisted, is, the result of the utter disregard and indifference to our aforesaid cherished desire on the part of Government of India, which is reserving no pains to boost up the Sheikh Abdullah's *fancings* of the restricted accession, for reason best known to the Government of Bharat itself.

Should we feel helpless and thus yield to the recent sinister decisions of the Kashmir Consambly, which are in exact concurrence with the Nehru- Abdullah ~~fact~~, it will represent the greatest political blunder ever made in ^{history} ~~discuss~~ by a self respecting ^{nation} nature. These decisions are equally a challenge to the Indian integrity and are likely to ^{lead to the} ~~lead to the~~ ^{Balkanisation} of India, in course of time.

The present fight, is therefore, as much of Indi^{an} as it is of the unfortunate State People. So it is the patriotic duty of every Indian to extend all possible help to this struggle.

In all humility, I request you on the fair name of journalism to depict Praja Parishad movement in its true colours.

We are given to understand that your special correspondent is arriving here. In this connection I fervently appeal you to instruct him not to remain a Government guest, instead seek information from the General Public and read the pulse of the masses. This will be real service to the cause of Indian Unity.

JAI BHARAT

Sincerely yours,

(Durga Das Verma)
GENERAL SECRETARY,
ALL JAMMU & KASHMIR PRAJA PARISHAD,
J A M M U.

FOLLOWING IS THE FULL TEXT OF THE STATEMENT ISSUED BY DR. OM
PRAKASH MENGHI, GENERAL SECRETARY ALL J & K PRAJA PARISHAD JAMMU ON
3rd NOVEMBER 1954.

A reference to the historic Praja Parishad ^{movement} ~~agitation~~ has
been made in a resolution of the National Conference general council
at Srinagar.

The allegation that Parishad advocates the return of
monarchy and the undoing of the land-reforms in the State, is an
absolutely lie. Our stand regarding headship of the State has
repeatedly been made clear that in this respect Jammu & Kashmir
State be treated like other States in India.

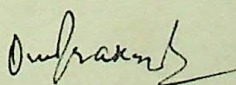
Our criticism of the State government's land reforms
has come out to be ~~true~~ correct in the very words of the government's
appointed Wazir Committee. It is absolutely wrong to say that the
Parishad stands for dispossession of the peasant's newly acquired
lands.

Parishad's stand regarding the accession issue is now
well known to every body in this country. We stand for full and final
accession of the State of J & K with Indian Union and the application
of the Constitution in its entirety to this State. This in no way
means complete merger, but it surely fails to accomodate the
unpatriotic stand of independance and loose relationship of the
State with the Union.

The success of our struggle is clearly indicated by the
fact that those who once stood for State's limited accession, today
take pride in denouncing their previous policies and declarations
to which they themselves were a party.

All these allegations aim only at maligning Praja
Parishad - the only and the strongest opposition in the State.

Parishad is proud to proclaim that it exists for the
noble and patriotic cause of unification of the State of Jammu &
Kashmir with mother India and shall consider no sacrifice too great
to achieve this end.


(Om Prakash Menghi)
General Secretary,
All J & K Praja Parishad
Jammu.

RESOLUTION

The accession of the State with the Indian Union is the recognition of the principles that Bharat including Kashmir is one country and the corollary that the whole country should have one Constitution naturally follows. There cannot be two constitutional set up in the same country and if the principle is allowed to be compromised in respect of one part of the country it will encourage the other parts to follow the track and hence the national integrity will give away to the disruptive elements to play their mischief.

/that The article 370 of the Indian Constitution was a temporary measure as is evident from the speech of late Gopala Swami Ayyangar. Argument is advanced in favour of a separate constitution of State on the plea that there will be international complications/might rise in a case request for separate constitution if not acceded. To ~~hix~~ us this has little meaning specially when Union Home and Prime Ministers have time and again pronounced that there will be no Plebiscite in the State. The whole contest of the problem has changed due to the entry of Pakistan in the Bagdad Pact. Moreover the idea of separate constitution will continue to be used by anti-national element in the State that there is still some lacuna in the ~~xx~~ accession of the State with the Indian Union. To nip this sort of trouble Praja Parishad wants that adoption of separate constitution for the State will be inimical to larger interest of India.

Principally, historically and geographically Kashmir is a part of Bharat and hence the people living in Kashmir should also enjoy the same rights and has the same constitutional safeguards as the people living in the rest of India. To maintain the national integrity Kashmir should also have same constitutional set up as rest of country. This is the aspiration of the people living in Jammu & Kashmir State. It will restore normalcy and all uncertainty about the future of the State.

The x General Session of Jammu & Kashmir Praishad views the present circumstances with great concern. The session firmly believe that the application of Indian Constitution in its entirety to the State can alone restore law and order in the State and thus create confidence among the people about their lot. The session makes it clear that unless the constitution of Bharat is applied in toto to the State they would not be a party or would not suffer imposition or any step which is taken with a view to satisfy separatist and anti-national tendencies.

STATEMENT ISSUED BY PT. PREMNATH DOGRA ON 12.6.1952
PRESIDENT PRAJA PARISHAD.

Events are moving post haste in our State. Momentous decisions are being rushed through by the unrepresentative Constituent Assembly of Sh. Abdulla at Srinagar: The first instalment of which (State Flag) was dished out to us on Saturday the 7th of June 52 and the 2nd (Ruling Dynasty) is being presented to us on a platter of challenge in a day or so. In one breath of heated passion the C.A. was made to vote a New Red Flag in place of the time honoured State Flag and as a rival flag of Union of India to which we have acceded.

Sensing that such an unhappy step was being taken by N.C. Constituent Assembly, I apprised the President of Indian Union, the Prime Minister of India and other top ranking political leaders in time and besought them to intervene in the larger interests of the people, the State and the Union of India especially in view of the fact that Kashmir dispute was still pending with the security council and any in-cautious step taken or any undesirable measure adopted may not adversely affect our vital interests.

Since the provocative decisions of the C.A. have caused deep resentment throughout and particularly in the province of Jammu, I have summoned my Executive to meet on 14th & 15th of June to discuss the State Flag, the position of the Ruling Dynasty, future relations of Jammu with the rest of State and other very important matters concerning the welfare of the country and its people as a whole.

In order that people of Jammu Province may not give any individual expression of resentment or take any step without due consideration as a mark of protest against such narrow-sighted and ill-conceived decisions of the one party Constituent Assembly or the irritating speeches of its members (which are infallibly relayed on the Govt. Radio of Kashmir), I appeal to all my countrymen to remain quiet and await the instructions of the P.P. Executive.

Jammu;
12.6.1952

Sd. Prem Nath Dogra,
President,
All Jammu & Kashmir Praja Parishad.

The Jammu and Kashmir state being an integral part of Bharat for times immemorial the people of the state are inseparably linked with other Bhartiyas so far as their traditions, political, cultural and economic life is concerned.

In the year 1947 due to the barbarous attack of Pakistan on the state of Jammu and Kashmir, Sheikh Abdullah was brought into power much less by force of circumstances, but much more by bond of true love of Pandit Nehru. This Sheikh, as you all now know with the help of his communal and selfish party men started the game bargaining both with Pakistan, who plundered the wealth, modesty and beauty of our mother land, and with India, who actually brought him out of Jail and brought him to this exalted position of Prime Ministership of J&K state. This fact influenced the rather timid leaders of India to appease and grant a special status to this state where communists and communalists gained power day by day.

Intoxicated with power, this ruling clique, instead of developing the state, engaged themselves in making fortunes for themselves and their kith and kin and their party men. In order to have a free hand in the state affairs they manipulated to make the state a separate independent unit. Their unchecked dictatorial powers were used to suppress the civil liberties of the people by enacting repressive laws of the dark ages. Corruption, partiality and nepotism became rampant everywhere. Things came to such a dangerous pass that Praja Parishad had to give them a tough fight. Thrice the innocent Dogras were mercilessly belaboured, children teargassed and women folk molested. All this did not quench their thirst but during the last Praja Parishad Satyagrah precious young lives of 15 Dogras brave men were sacrificed to unfold their natorious plans. Their last and severest blow was on the brightest gem of Bharat Mata.

From the very beginning of its regime the National Conference had a very bad record of unfair practices. In the last general elections it again came to power through their very means of brute force and illegally rejecting Nomination papers of Praja Parishad candidates, and prepared a separate constituent

their designs and tactics to "win" the election in an unfair and highhanded manner. In fact the past experience of the people of the State is startling and eye opener to ^{clear} and that is why they want the ^{coming} election to be conducted ^{with} as supervision of the ^{once} ~~election~~ Commissioner of India. The illegal rejections of the applications of the opposition candidates and issue of sealed ballot papers ^{as on} the recent Jammu Municipal election, a day previous ^{once} ~~to~~ election to the members of the ruling party to be cast in favour of their candidates ^{are} are a few instances of the "Free and Fair" way in which Bakshi Ghulam Mohammad intends to conduct the coming election to the Assembly in the State. It is Bakshi Ghulam Mohammad who ~~very~~ often disturb the peace in the State rather than peace loving population living therein.

The Kashmir Prime Minister is absolutely wrong when he says that the people of the State have no objection to a separate ~~Judicial~~ ^{or} election Commissioner. In fact the people are not up with the present system of Government in the State where the Officials are demoralized and used to serve their party purposes. Justice is delayed and sometime denied in many a cases. The position of the High Court has been reduced to a mockery in as much as that cannot transfer a ~~Minister~~ ^{Minister} their sweet will. Very often the proposals of the high court are kept in the cold storage for months together as they are not deemed to be in accord with the wishes of the Law Minister or Prime Minister. Executive interference has thus increased to such an extent that a time is not far off when the people have to decide on a best course ^{best} suited to them ^{to let} ~~get~~ ^{question of} rid of the circumstances they are passing through. It is not the accommodation of the Kashmir by the rest of the country ^{as} desired by the Kashmir Prime Minister but it is an matter of principle which has not to be comprised to ^{is} ~~is~~ the Kashmir Prime Minister's separatist tendency. The country as a whole is to be kept in tact without discriminat-ory treatment to the inhabitants whether it may be Bakshi Ghulam Mohammad or Sheikh Abdullah or any body living in the rest of India.

making National Conference candidates successful at all costs.

11. Tempering with the counting was the naked violation of all canons of justice by the presiding officers which was done in almost all cases.

12. In case of ward No:- 10 when counting was going on, lights were intentionally put off to achieve their ends. Besides that the votes were not counted in the presence of the candidates and their signatures were not obtained on the counterfoil of the last vote polled. On recounting in the presence of the candidate the votes of Doctor Om Prakash Mengi were found more by 103 votes, than the previously counting. But the votes of the National Conference candidates were not recounted even on the request and protest of Dr. Om Prakash Mengi the contesting candidate, which was an unheeded procedure.

The emergency meeting of working committee of the All Jammu & Kashmir Praja Parishad strongly condemns the action of the govt. and its appointed officers and demands the appointment of the officer of the status of a judge of the High Court to go into the above mentioned malpractices and irregularities with a view to redress its grievances. Kindly to appoint a Tribunal jurisdiction of the Election Commissioner of India be extended to the State and feels that nothing short of that can meet the urging demand of the people who have no confidence in the present set up in the set up. Secondly it demands that an election commission of persons of the status of a judge of a High Court be appointed forthwith to decide the election petition.

The working committee further resolves that a deputation should be sent to Delhi to ventilate the grievances of the people of Jammu. The working Committee thanks the people of Jammu who have voted for the Praja Parishad candidates and others who have been forcibly denied the right to vote and whose ballot boxes even though have been purposely tampered with.

It appeals to the people to remain calm and peaceful in all circumstances till further step is decided upon whence Justice becomes obscure to us.

Since the year 1941 ~~there has been no regular census~~ ^{has been}
conducted in the State which has resulted in the ~~ignominy~~
~~inappropriate representation~~ of various provinces in the
Legislature and elsewhere. During the last Election in the ^{to}
State Legislative, ^{use} Constituencies were constituted in an
arbitrary manner without keeping into consideration the
population in the various ^{parts and} constituencies. This meeting of the
Praja Parishad resolves that with a view to give ^{proper} effective
representation to the various ^{parts} people in the State, new census
should be conducted ^{before election are held.} so that different provinces may get due
representation in the Legislature on the basis of population.

PRESS AND PUBLICITY SECTION
JAMMU & KASHMIR PRAJA PARISHAD, JAMMU.

Statement issued by L. Durga Dass Verma,
General Secretary.

Dated 30th November, 1952.

The November 29th, statement of Bakhshi Gulam Mohammad, is deplorable. The accusations levelled against Parishad are a part of the old fraud of the present rulers of the state to mislead Indian public opinion and secure support for the Republican Kashmir within Indian Union.

To say that Parishad movement "will only serve the interest of the enemies of state" and "weaken the state ties with India" is not only *fantastic* ~~but~~ beyond the understanding of every right-thinking person. How contradictory and paradoxical, it is that the government of which Bakhshi Gulam Mohammad is an important mouth-piece, while denouncing us as ^{*reactionaries*} reactions, communalists and agents of Pakistan, simply because we have been incessantly clanning for the ~~most~~ application of the ^{*most*} secular constitution of the world, swears a hollow loyalty ^{*to*} in the same constitution.

The ~~fact~~ is that the government by ~~lining~~ us with communal forces of India and the pro-Pakistan block in the U.N.O. ^{*is simply harping on its old*} tune which we have buried long since. The present movement gives a lie direct to these charges.

The truth is that our life and death struggle for the last five years against the sinister designs of the party in power to keep the state independent of any Bhartya control, has fully exposed, its much ^{*taken*} of and so-called pro-Indian professions.

K.T.O.

We challenge the assertions of the Deputy Prime Minister to the effect that the " states accession with India is complete" and that the Union flag shall enjoy the highest place of honour", If he is honest and sincere, he should prove his bonafides by accepting our new point of complete and unconditional accession with Bharat and the application of entire Indian's secular Constitution to the state or else stop levelling indecent charges, which have not even a grain of truth in them.

(Durga Dass Verma)

GENERAL SECRETARY,
ALL JAMMU & KASHMIR PRAJA PARISHAD,
J_A_M_M_U.

Having thus failed to meet the countrywide mass upheaval the top ranking National Conference leaders have begun to preach sermons to their followers with a view to cheer up their disgruntled and frustrated psychology; born out of their utter disappointment which they have met in an effort to win even a fraction of the whole mass of Jammu Province to their side.

Bakshi Gulam Mohd, the State's Deputy Prime-Minister, is reported to have talked of Nehru-Abdullah friendship as the guarantee for the security for four million Muslims of India and one million non-Muslims in Pakistan, to a largely attended meeting of National Conference workers assembled in Srinagar, from all over the Kashmir Valley. The worthy Minister is further reported to have poured out all possible abuse for the Parishad movement and characterised it as representing the "vested interest" "the landlords" and 'money lenders' who have been "highly effected" by the so-called "progressive reforms" introduced by the Sheikh Government in the State.

If the present agitation for full and unqualified accession of the State with India and the application of the entire Indian Constitution over the State can break the "Indo-Kashmir alliance" and defeat Pt: Nehru's secular democracy, we fail to understand how can restricted accession, and a separate constitution either be acclaimed a triumph for Pt: Nehru's secular democracy or fasten the strings of old deep political and cultural relations of India and Kashmir. For the sake of argument, if Nehru-Abdullah friendship is the only guarantee for the Muslims and non-muslims of both India and Pakistan, what will be the fate of either communities in both the countries, in case either of the two Prime Ministers are forced to relinquish their present office, if popular verdict goes against their continuance as such.

Better it would have been had the Deputy Prime-Minister, laid stress on the friendship of the two peoples, their oneness of socio political idealism and unity of out-look and purpose. But let our brethren across the border; Indians understand the motives of these deceitful hollow talks, devoid of any argument and sense. It has simply said the present oligarchical rulers of the State to exploit Pt: Nehru's forwardness and honesty of purpose. They have all along used

Government of India alike under their ~~xxxx~~ heel to justify their continuance in office against all cannons of democratic justice and fair play;— ever since their rise to power.

That the separate flag, separate constitution and a separate head of the State is not in conflict with the Indian constitution as reported to have said by Maulana Mohd Sayeed Masoudi, the General Secretary, of the National Conference, while exhorting the local National Conference workers of Jammu to stand equally to the threat of Hindu communalism in Jammu as they (the National leaders) had done in Kashmir Valley in crushing the Muslim communalism, is fantastic and ridiculous. It further reveals Maulana Sahib's lack of proper understanding of ^{otherwise how could he have remembered like this when it is a hard reality that the supreme Court of India} constitutional matters; as envisaged in the Indian constitution, has no jurisdiction over our State, and that it provides for Governors, Raj Pramukhs, chief Commissioners etc., as the heads of the constituent States of the Indian Union unlike a Sadar-e-Riasat, installed by the National Conference nominated Kashmir Consobly in the State.

We assert on the merit of our experience for the last so many years in the political arena of the State that it is futile to argue with obstinate rulers of the State, who seem to be determined in their design to maintain the independent status of the State of course guarded by the gallant ^{Indian} defence forces and financed by the Indian exchequer under one pretext or the other.

More press statements, public speeches or Radio broadcasts cannot solve the actual problem. A realistic view of the situation in consideration with the aspirations of the people and the larger interests of the country's integrity as a whole is the prime need of the hour.

Should sane sense prevail upon the rulers of the State to realise the great potential benefits which ~~unqualified~~ unqualified accession of the State shall bring in its wake, they ought to heed up with the suggestion and solve the long standing deadlock to ease the political tension and create sense of stability and confidence among the people.

PUBLICITY SECRETARY,
ALL JAMMU & KASHMIR PRAJA PARISHAD.
JAMMU.

COPY OF A TELEGRAM

DATED 14TH JUNE 1952

From the President, Shri Amar Kashtriya Prantik Sabha Jammu to the

1. President Rajendraparsad Republic of India New Delhi
2. Premier Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru „
3. Doctor Kelashnath Katju States Minister India „
4. Defence Minister N. Gopalaswami Ayyanger „
5. Shri Yuvraj Karansinghji of Kashmir Ambassador Hotel „

and other top ranking political leaders of India and prominent News Papers.

Two resolutions adopted by unrepresentative Sheikh Abdullah's Kashmir Constituent Assembly changing time honoured State flag and terminating hereditary monarchy prefaced by provocative speeches of the Premier and his colleagues are a challenge to the sacrifices gallantry and statesmanship of Dogras and Ruling House particularly Rajputs. aaa Kashmir has acceded to India as Part B State and cannot adopt any separate Flag or frame any Constitution of its own under Indian Constitution aaa Kashmir Constitution Assembly is not sovereign body like Constituent Assembly of India and is not competent to frame any constitution or adopt any resolution or pass any measure bringing it in direct conflict with Indian Constitution or accession of State to Indian Union aaa Maharajas Constitutional Sovereignty was never contemplated to be terminated by Government of India as is evident from Maharajas proclamation of 5th March 1948 and Yuvaraj Karan Singh's proclamation of 25th November 1949 and article 370 of Constitution of India not even by the resolution of National Conference dated 27th October 1950 foreworded by Honourable Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru aaa Maharaja as Constitutional Ruler is a political necessity and a unifying link between different geographical and political units of State as held by Sir Owen Dixon aaa Terminating of hereditary monarchy tantamount to disintegration of State and a political suicide on part of Sheikh Abdullah when Kashmir case still pending in Security council especially in view of fact that it was Maharaja who acceded to India unreservedly thereby recognising alliance of State as part and parcel of India aaa Peoples of State particularly Dogras while fully alive to democratic needs of present day consider adoption of resolutions as a challenge to their very existence, self respect and integrity of State aaa Pray intervention under article 366 and 370 of Constitution of India and request withdrawal of two resolutions and also restraining Sheikh Abdullah from making any undignified speeches or passing any measures without ascertaining the will of political units of State and not self nominated Constituent assembly of Sheikh Abdullah.

Nov. 25, 1952

Memorandum to the Sadr-I-Riyasat, Jammu And Kashmir

A grave threat to democracy and civil liberties today exists in the Jammu and Kashmir State which will be evident from the following acts of omission and commission in the recent time on the part of the National Conference Government:

1- Continuation of the old strangulating press laws inconsistent with the present democratic times. Recent ban on anti-communist weeklies "Apna Sansar" and "Naya Samaj" for an indefinite period without administering any prior warning even once, illustrates the ruthlessness of these laws.

2- Forcing newsmen to send statements even in the name of third parties. For instance, the three statements said to have been issued by the Srinagar citizens, one Mr. Makhdoomi and a student leader regarding assault on Shri Ashoka Mehta were personally delivered by the Prime Minister, Mr. Ghulam Mohd Bakshi, to the newsmen for onward despatch. Kashmir Information Bureau, New-Delhi, also circulated similar statements in the name of Jammu citizens and the ~~Kashmir National Union~~ Jammu National Conference spokesman to the Delhi Press. The United Press of India is also being paid a handsome monthly amount of course not for nothing.

3- Dubbing Shri Jaya Parkash Narayan as an outsider and the Praja Socialist as political swindlers which of course paled insignificance in view of the most recent most shameful brought broad-day-light violent attack on Shri Asoka Mehta and other Indian socialists including a respectable lady in the busiest centre of Srinagar.

4- Beating of almost half of the members of the P.S.P. State Executive, along with Shri Asoka Mehta, in which incident despite Premier Bakshi's promise of a thorough inquiry, only some junior police men are holding a routine investigation although several high-ups are involved.

5- Intensification of the reign of terror since assault on Shri Asoka Mehta, our Baramulla district organiser, Mr. Mohd Subhan, was illegally detained while another worker, Mr. Shamas-ud-Din, was physically tortured. Citizens are being officially compelled to sign prepared statements "to save themselves the fate of Shri Asoka Mehta". Even members of the Assembly with a soft corner for the P.S.P. are being extremely harassed. The ruling party's official Organ "The Khidmat" wrote the other day that Shri Asoka Mehta's was "a warning" for others. It is now proved beyond doubt that the attack on Shri Asoka Mehta was engineered with a calculated view to demonstrate the determination of the men at the helm of affairs to tolerate absolutely no physical existence of any opposition elements howsoever secular, democratic and progressive.

6- Miserable failure of the Government to appreciate any reasonableness in any dissident voice at any time and always labelling it either an RSS or a Pakistani move. Thousands of tons of propaganda material of the enemy every day would not have done us the harm that the totalitarian rulers of the State are actually doing by showing themselves as the monopolists of nationalism and all others who do not approve some of their policies as the enemy agents. A Government breeding on such fanaticism is a real danger to democracy and a progressive social change.

7- The use of Government men, material and influence to achieve petty party ends in opposition to the most legitimate activities of any section of the public. Srinagar Deputy Commissioner was recently made a member of the National Conference Election Board in the Town Area election at Anantnag. Likewise, the Jammu traders are being persistently told that they can secure a reduction in the present octroi rates only if they get rid of Lala Girdhari Lal Anand as the President of the Jammu Chamber of Commerce who holds the socialist views.

Recruitment of services as well as promotions and punishments are also being motivated by party considerations. It is not without significance that your own declaration two years back regarding setting up of public service commission is still to be implemented.

8- Conception of internal autonomy as means to grab maximum autonomy for themselves alone- refusing to decentralise it, rather using it to suppress the opposition elements. For instance, the exclusion of the State from the jurisdiction of the central audit does in

way add to the autonomy of the people but only empowers the State rulers to corrupt the people and strengthen the forces of totalitarianism.

9- Ever growing expenditure on the police and the publicity departments obviously to crush the people on one hand and not only vigorously proclaim it just the otherwise on the other hand but also most rapidly spread all falsehoods in regard to the activities of the opposition elements.

10- Discountenancing popular co-operation even in the implementation of such useful schemes as the National Extension Service and the community Projects and making them altogether subservient to the party considerations. Several Block Development Officers hold important party offices and in fact their only job appears to be the party work.

11- Deliberate delay in completing the constitution-making task and prolongation of the Constituent Assembly as the Legislature for which purpose it was never convened. It is indeed amusing to find that the no-confidence vote has been passed by the State Assembly against four M.P.s from the State without having any such constitutional right while refusing the same right of recall to the people of the State who have been persistently demanding an early election. Mention may also be made here of our municipal committees, elections to which have not been held for the last about sixteen years.

This is not all what, I feel, can be legitimately said against the National Conference Government in the State. Nor am I unmindful of the crisis our land is passing through at present. I am, however, convinced that never was there a greater urgency than at present for all of us to respect the values of democracy and civil liberties- the subject of my today's interview. The efforts of the State Government to suppress and malign my party are regrettable to say the least. I am indeed little interested in making any defence as such except expressing the belief that the policy and the programme of my party should always speak for itself. For your persual and record I enclose the copies of the political resolution passed by us at our recent convention and the main speech by Shri Asoka Mehta there. The State rulers are endeavouring hard to distort them and then exploit the distorted versions to mislead the people in believing something beyond facts.

The whole situation is thus pregnant with far reaching repercussions and my sole purpose at the moment is to request you as the Head of the State to prevail upon the State Government to behave fairly and democratically.

(Om Parkash Saraf)
Chairman,
P.S.P., J&K JAMMU
November 25, 1954.

The Myrters day was celebrated at Chhamb, a village forty miles from here, where a youngman Shri Mela Ram was shot dead by the ^{State} police while he was hoisting the Indian National Tri-colour Flag on a Government building there during the Praja Parishad Satyagrah. A large number of villagers from ^{had} the Illaqua gathered there to celebrate the Day. Pt. Prem Nath Dogra President, Jammu and Kashmir Praja Prishad, and Shri Shayam Lal Sharma Parishad Vice-President also participated in the celebrations.

Paying homage to the Myrters Pt. Prem Nath Dogra said that the sacrifices of the myrters never go waste and we cannot forget Dr, Mukerji, the great son of India and those other ~~of the State~~ who have shed their blood to strengthen the Ties of the State with Bharat and upset the malicious designs and dangerous intrigues of Shiekh Abdullah and of other his colleagues. "We celebrate anniversaries of these myrters to accomplish the mission for which they have laid their lives. Praja Parishad the popular organisation of the State is fully determined not to allow to loosen the ties of the State with Bharat which has been cemented by the sacrifices of these myrters", ~~he said~~. Criticising the policy of Pandit Jawar Lal Ji Nehru with regard to Kashmir affairs Pt. ~~Dogra~~ Dogra said that he has miserably failed. Not only the Imperilist powers but also Pt. Nehru himself is responsible for the bungling of Kashmir affairs. ~~Whenever~~ Whenever we raised voice against his wrong policy ^{we were} quitted in the garb of international developments. Pandit Dgra added that people of the State supported the Maharaja's accession of the State ^{to the} Indian Union. Subsequently the Constituent ^{Assembly} of Kashmir had also endorsed ~~the~~ this accession. All this lead to the fact that the accession of the State is morally legally and Constitutionally complete. Now after this, the question of Plebiscite is meaningless. The Government of India must withdraw the case from the U.N.O. and declare unequivocally that the question of accession being comlete cannot be allowed to reopen anymore. The policy of special treatment to this this State should be given up and the Indian Constitution should be applied inits entirety to this State like other B Class States. The People should be given the same fundamental rights which the other citizens of India are enjoying. Pandit Dogra added that late Dr Mukerji and other ~~myrters~~ had shed their blood to achieve this object. and our struggle shall continue to achieve this end. "The State cannot get rid of foreign intris

and not merit. For optional papers of the M.A. classes there is no arrangement at all and even proper books are not available in the library-

8. the students liberties and the democratic rights of the students in the Colleges are mercilessly crushed and reduced to a very insignificant trifle. There are no college unions or representative bodies of students on College Councils, games committees etc. Students are dismissed at will.

9. The women students are put to great hardship due to a want of common room. The present so-called common room is in fact an unfurnished and inequipped Women's Reading room. There is no arrangement for picnics or tours for them.

Taking accounts of the above facts we demand that the Demand Charter issued by the Adhoc Committee Yesterday should be accepted within a fortnight .

We elect and authorize the following Committee to carry on the struggle as they think fit and get redress of our demands. They shall act as the Students Executive till properly elected College Unions are instituted in the Colleges.

In the name of students Unity, in the name of liberty, and our glorious traditions of struggle

WE RESOLVE

to wage a ceaseless struggle until our most genuine demands are accepted . Resolved also that the copies be sent to press and authorities.

Tuesday, 7th December, 1954.

A D - H O C C O M M I T T E E

- | | | |
|------------------------|------------------------------------|----------------------------|
| 1. Hans Raj VI year. | 4. M akhan Lal VI year. | 7. Ranbir Nanda IV year |
| 2. Kanwal Bali IV year | 5. Yash Bhasin V year. | 8. Sat Saraf III year |
| 3. D.K.Rampal III year | 6. Wishwa Bandhu III year | 9. Amrit Malhotra III year |
| 4. | 10. Sujan Singh IV year. | |
| | 11. Joginder Singh II year. | |
| | 12. Chander Parkash Singh VI year. | |
| | 13. Sudershana Sethi | |

Jammu - 31st August : While commenting on Bakshi Ghulam Mohd's recent exclusive interview with the correspondent of a News Agency (I.P.A.) and later circulated through the Kashmir Govt. Information Bureau, the J & K Praja Parishad Chief Pt. Prem Nath Dogra said here today, " In this interview Bakshi Ghulam Mohammad has laid bare his real intentions with regard to Kashmir's position in the Indian Union that he is not prepared to be treated at par with other States of India, should be now abundantly clear even to those who had developed a sort of blind faith in his oft repeated slogans about National Integration". Dogra added that far from bringing Kashmir closer to the rest of the country, Bakshi Ghulam Mohammad has even disapproved ^{about National Conference's} the suggestion ^{integration} with the Indian National Congress on the plea of " its own special traditions and certain sentiments of its followers". It should not be difficult for anybody to read between the lines. National Conference has in fact lost hold on the masses because of such antinational sentiments of its leadership.

Praja Parishad Chief said " Bakshi's assertion that Kashmir is still very much an international issue, runs counter to his own previous declarations that Kashmir has linked its destiny ^{irrevocably} with India and that there was now no Kashmir problem except that of recovering our territories illegally held by Pakistan and China. His latest approach definitely smacks of black mailing and refutes the very basis of India's stand at the United Nations".

Pt. Dogra expressed surprise that Kashmir Premier's reference to Sheikh Mohd Abdullah as " still posing a serious political problem for the State which cannot be dealt with purely as a law and order question" is most unfortunate. Can there be worse confession about the miserable failure of the Government to create feelings of certainty and stability in minds of the people ? But this confession also seems more political and

reality.
diplomatic than ~~realism~~. Referring to Pakha
abrogation of Art. 370 of the Indian Constitution,
leader said, " His opposition to abrogation of Art. 370 is
never in doubt despite categorical assertion by the Prime Minis.
Jawaharlal Nehru that this Article was going to becom redundant
with the passage of time. What is shocking is that that he should
now link up the validity of the accession of the State to the
Union with the transitional provision of the Indian Constitution.

(In his interview Bakhshi Ghulam Mohd had said", Art. 370, Bakhshi
Sahib pointed out, gave validity to this State's voluntary accession
to the Indian Union as determined by the freely elected constituent
Assembly of Jammu and Kashmir) . There could be perhaps no worse
example of political opportunism".

Pt. Dogra stated " Bakhshi has boasted about having
weakened Praja Parishad which he has dubbed as communal. I may
assure him that his such claims are going to deceive him alone.
Praja Parishad is an organisation of tried patriots out to fight
to last against elements which have no faith in politically strong,
economically progressive and socially upright Indian Nation".

Pt. Dogra further said that Bakhshi's emphasis "Under his
leadership his party had fought communalism in the State, when in
other parts of the country, rightist and communal parties had
gained ground" is the same tone of talking as the leaders of the
ruling National Conference had been using to misguide and arouse
the communal frenzy amongst the Kashmir Muslims against India.

D/ _____

Gopaldas Sachar,
Publicity Secretary,
J&K Praja Parishad, Jammu.

27/7/53

I am happy to be back with my people after 8 months absence. It was a period of trial for us. We had voluntarily taken resort to the path of self sacrifice and suffering for the vindication of our right to live a life of honour and security in our own homeland as a component part of India. The way you have passed through this trial makes me proud of you. What I have seen and heard about the way you conducted the Satyagrah after my arrest has convinced me that the future of our State is secure. Our satyagraha has no parallel in the history of satyagrahas. For eight months two governments had let loose their barbaric force to crush you. But they have not been able to crush you. Rather they have been vanquished. You stand victorious.

Today the whole country is full of praise for you and the brave fight you have given to the forces of separatism and disruption. I had the opportunity to visit a few important places in north India during the last few days. Every where I found tremendous enthusiasm and genuine praise for you people. Your sacrifices have made your cause the cause of whole of India. The conscience of the whole country including the powers that be in New Delhi has been stirred and they have realised and admitted the justice of our cause and the patriotic motives that impelled us to launch our satyagraha.

What did we fight for? Our struggle was aimed at bringing Jammu and Kashmir State close to India of which it has all through the ages been integral part, geographically historically as also culturally. This was necessitated by the separatist policies of the Government of Jammu and Kashmir which were aimed at driving a wedge between the State and the rest of India. Our demand was logical and patriotic. It flowed from the fact of accession of the State to India. We were opposed to the policy of reducing that accession to a dead letter by steadily cutting at the roots of State's unity with India. The Government of India in their indulgence for Sheikh Abdullah

Your people won the fight
of Ladakh.

Failed to see the dangerous implications of that policy inspite of our repeated protests, requests and warnings. They did not pay any heed to the exhortations of a patriot like Dr. Bhanuprasad Mookerjee even. But I am happy to tell that it has been proved beyond doubt that we were on the right. The whole of India has now awakened to the dangers of systematic separatism of some Kashmiri politicians. It is now admitted at all hands that our movement was neither communal nor reactionary but was an outcome of the patriotic urge of the people of the State to be one with India.

That is why overtures were made to us to ~~X~~ stop the Satyagraha. I was taken to Srinagar to have consultations with Dr. S. P. Mookerji. Pt. Nehru who for three long years refused to talk to your representatives and spoke fire against us day in and day out, stepped out of his shell of self complacency and appealed to us for cooperation and for cessation of satyagraha. He called us and heard our view point. It was a clear victory of you people. It shows that you cannot be ignored, that you have made your existence felt. I wish he had done this a month earlier. That might have saved the country from the great tragedy of Dr. Mookerjee's death. But still it is matter of satisfaction that light has dawned upon Pt. Nehru after all.

I had talks with some other ministers of the Central and Kashmir Government as well. I do not think that I am divulging anything if I say that they have begun to appreciate our vie point. The dangerous results of the policy of drift in regard to Kashmir have already begun to manifest themselves. And they have forced them to pay heed to our warnings which had gon unheeded so far. India's stake in Kashmir is high. she cannot afford to bungle there any more. An I hope that steps to end the dangerous suspense about the future of the State will be soon taken. Jurisdiction of Supreme Court, Fundamental rights and financial integration of the state with India are natural corrolaries of State's accession to India and I am confident that the State will have the benefit

of them very soon.

Definite steps will also soon be ~~take~~ taken to remove the economic and other grievances of the people within the State. Some of them have already been taken. Something has been done to rehabilitate ex-service-men, remove controls etc. The report of the Wazir Committee which was set up as a result of our satyagraha has vindicated our stand about land reforms and other economic policies of the government.

We have stopped our satyagraha to give time to Pt. Nehru and Kashmir Government to set things right. The same patriotic motives which impelled us to launch the satyagraha 8 months ago have now impelled us to stop it even though we had the strength and determination to carry it on for many months more. During this period Kashmir problem which had already become complicated has become delicate. Our warnings and worst fears have come true. Persons masquerading as India's friends and followers of Mahatma Gandhi have come out in their true colours. They have begun to flirt with the idea of independent Kashmir for the fulfillment of their own ambition. They have forgotten how this independence mania brought destruction to Kashmir in 1947. We are and have been opposed to it whether it comes from Pt. Ram Chandra Kak or Sheikh Abdullah. I want to appeal to my Kashmiri brethren not to be exploited by such false cries. They will land them in trouble.

It is wrong to suggest that our movement was aimed against Sheikh Abdullah or Kashmiris as such. We have always looked upon Kashmir as an integral part of the state withing India. We extended our fullest cooperation to Sheikh Abdullah when he was installed in power. It was unfortunate that he misconstrued our willing cooperation for the common end of unity with India to be our weakness. I am sure he has now realised our strength. I want to assure him that we want to be his friends provided he gives up his separatist policies. Let him be Indian first and Kashmiri or Muslim afterwards and we are with him.

The sufferings undergone and the sacrifices made by you people during the satyagrah have been immense. You have faced bullets and braved all the engines of repression in the armoury of Kashmir and Indian Police with most commendable courage, restraint and discipline. By committing crimes against women the state Government has proved that it is not fit to be called a civilised government. You had the power and ability to give them blow for blow. But by suffering non-violently you have proved that you are true satyagrahis.

But the greatest sacrifice for our cause was made by Dr. Shyam Prasad Mookerji who died a martyr's death in a Srinagar Jail. In his death the country has paid the greatest price for Jammu and Kashmir's unity with India. The people of state will ever remember him. We will carry on his mission. It is also our desire to build befitting memorial to his memory at Jammu and Srinagar. I hope the people of the state will contribute liberally to Dr. Mookerji Memorial fund when appeal is made for it. We are also one with the rest of India in the demand for an impartial enquiry into the mysterious circumstances in which Dr. Mookerji died.

The immediate task before us now is to re-organise ourselves. The people are with us. They have proved their faith in Praja Parishad by standing by it in thick and thin. Their strength and energies have now to be diverted to constructive work of removing poverty, disease and ignorance. The Kandi area of our land is most neglected. Its needs have to be looked into. The Praja Parishad will soon set up a committee to make a social and economic survey of the Kandi ilaqa. I will appeal to my fellow workers to make a cooperative effort in their respective sphere to ameliorate the lot of the people and share their sufferings. Service of the people is the real measure of our strength. We must now concentrate on educating them so that they may be able to discharge the responsibilities that are soon going to devolve on them in a worthy manner.

Speech by Mr. Prem Nath Jogi
President All J & K. Praja Parishad on 27.7.53
in the Naraina ground.

27/7/53

I am happy to be back with my people after 8 months absence. It was a period of trial for us. We had voluntarily taken resort to the path of self sacrifice and suffering for the vindication of our right to live a life of honour and security in our own homeland as a component part of India. The way you have passed through this trial makes me proud of you. What I have seen and heard about the way you conducted the Satyagrah after my arrest has convinced me that the future of our State is secure. Our satyagraha has no parallel in the history of satyagrahas. For eight months two governments had let loose their barbaric force to crush you. But they have not been able to crush you. Rather they have been vanquished. You stand victorious.

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Government of India in their indulgence for Sheikh Abdullah

failed to see the dangerous implications of that policy in spite of our repeated protests, requests and warnings. They did not pay any heed to the exhortations of a patriot like Dr. Bhanuprasad Bhookerjee even. But I am happy to tell that it has been proved beyond doubt that we were on the right. The whole of India has now awakened to the dangers of systematic separatism of some Kashmiri politicians. It is now admitted at all hands that our movement was neither communal nor reactionary but was an outcome of the patriotic urge of the people of the State to be one with India.

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I had talks with some other ministers of the Central and Kashmir Government as well. I do not think that I am divulging anything if I say that they have begun to appreciate our view point. The dangerous results of the policy of drift in regard to Kashmir have already begun to manifest themselves. And they have forced them to pay heed to our warnings which had gone unheeded so far. India's stake in Kashmir is high. She cannot afford to bungle there any more. As I hope that steps to end the dangerous suspense about the future of the State will be soon taken. Jurisdiction of Supreme Court, Fundamental rights and financial integration of the State with India are natural corollaries of State's accession to India and I am confident that the State will have the benefit

of them very soon.

Definite steps will also soon be taken to remove the economic and other grievances of the people within the State. Some of them have already been taken. Something has been done to rehabilitate ex-service-men, remove controls etc. The report of the Wazir Committee which was set up as a result of our satyagraha has vindicated our stand about land reforms and other economic policies of the government.

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The sufferings undergone and the sacrifices made by you people during the satyagrah have been immense. You have faced bullets and braved all the engines of repression in the armoury of Kashmir and Indian Police with most commendable courage, restraint and discipline. By committing crimes against women the State Government has proved that it is not fit to be called a civilised government. You had the power and ability to give them blow for blow. But by suffering non-violently you have proved that you are true satyagrahis.

But the greatest sacrifice for our cause was made by Dr. Bheem Prasad Meekherji who died a martyr's death in a Srinagar Jail. In his death the country has paid the greatest price for Jammu and Kashmir's unity with India. The people of the state will ever remember him. We will carry on his mission. It is also our desire to build befitting memorial to his memory at Jammu and Srinagar. I hope the people of the state will contribute liberally to Dr. Meekherji Memorial fund when appeal is made for it. We are also one with the rest of India in the demand for an impartial enquiry into the mysterious circumstances in which Dr. Meekherji died.

The immediate task before us now is to re-organise ourselves. The people are with us. They have proved their faith in Praja Parishad by standing by it in thick and thin. Their strength and energies have now to be diverted to constructive work of removing poverty, disease and ignorance. The Kandi area of our land is most neglected. Its needs have to be looked into. The Praja Parishad will soon set up a committee to make a social and economic survey of the Kandi areas. I will appeal to my fellow workers to make a cooperative effort in their respective spheres to ameliorate the lot of the people and share their sufferings. Service of the people is the real measure of our strength. We must now concentrate on educating them so that they may be able to discharge the responsibilities that are soon going to devolve on them in a worthy manner.

But the recent reply to these "legitimate grievances" which Sheikh Sahib has given in the course of a public speech in Delhi that he does not know what these grievances are, is ample evidence of the fact that in order to play his own game he can go to the length of contradicting even the Indian Prime Minister. Such a categorical denial to the hard realities, as these words amount to, was least that well-wishers of the state expected. Not only have these remarks injured the public feelings at large, but the magnitude of inhuman atrocities have also enhanced.

Apart from meeting the demands of the Jammu people which the Kashmir premier seems to be reluctant to do we consider that Sheikh Abdullah has made awkward the position of Pt. Nehru. Should Pt. Nehru be sincere to what he has uttered as we are sure he is, he must prevail upon the Kashmir National Conference leaders to see sense in the demand of Praja Parishad to accede to India unconditionally.

So long as state does not accede to India fully and unconditionally, all hotch potch arrangements shall fail to pacify the Jammu province. In our considered opinion the legitimate grievances of the Jammu people are not likely to find amicable solution so long state is not made an integral part of the Union.

We wish speedy exploration of ways and means to end the present stalemate shall be taken in hand and an hour of relief and tranquility accorded to the people. In the end I congratulate Pt. Nehru for his bold remark ~~to~~ and wish him to intervene directly in the matter.

Jai Bharat.

(Durga Das Verma)
General Secretary
All Jammu & Kashmir Praja Parishad.
Jammu.

6/5/53

The Editor,
Hindustan Standard,
Delhi.

5/5/53
Dear Sir,

Shree Ghulam Moh'd Sadiq, President so called Kashmir Constituent Assembly while addressing sponsored Democratic Youth League Convention in Jammu on 2nd May, 1953 reported in your paper on 3rd May, 1953 described Parishad leaders "traitors". We challenge Shree Sadiq an avowed communist to prove the charge before any court of law. It is not fair on the part of the responsible persons like Sh. Sadiq to make such wild allegation and charges against his political opponents. If the previous and present history of Shree Sadiq is reviewed and analysed the charge will fit in for Mr. Sadiq himself. The memory of Shree Sadiq's and his leader Sheikh Abdullah's intrigues with the British Imperialis to create communal troubles in the State in 1931 at the time when the then Government of India wanted to penalize the Maharaja for his bold patriotic stand in the Round Table Conference is still fresh to the people. It was a time when the British Imperialists instigated and finance the communal riots throughout India to bring the Congress Civil dis-obedience movement of 1931-32 to a sad and miserable end. It was the beginning of Shree Sadiq and his leaders "National struggle". Was it patriotic or treacherous? I leave it for your readers to decide.

Again in 1947 when the Maharaja was communicating with the Government of India for accession of the State, Shree Sadiq and his other companions went to Pakistan for consultations for accession of the State to Pakistan. He went there at the behest of his leader Sheikh Abdullah and the Communist Party of India which stood for the partition of the country.

There are other happenings and incidents also connected with Shree Sadiq which abundantly prove that ^{his} ~~their~~ malicious charge against his opponents suit best for himself.

Yours Faithfully,

6/5/53
Mast Garh, JAMMU-TAWI.

6th Feb. 1953.

7c
The Editor,
"Hindu"
MADRAS-2.

Dear Sir,

I am very thankful to you for your Editorial in your paper of 6th Feb. 1953 under the Heading "Jammu". Your editorials previously too of 10th Jan. 1953 and April-June-July 1952 have marked a clear lining and vivid understanding of the problem. But for the incorrect appreciation of the warning of able and far sighted independent editors like your self and Mr. Tushir Kanti Ghosh, editor of "Amirta-Bazaar Patrika" Calcutta, the tragedies, of indiscriminate, unjust, and mad firings at various places in Jammu Province on unarmed non-violent Satyagrahis would not have been staged. It is still for the Leaders, Statesmen, and Politicians of Bharat to bring pressure upon the Government of India to realise the gravity of the situation and try to solve the question dispassionately in consultation with the accredited leader of Praja Parishad, Pandit Prem Nath Ji Dogra. Commissions appointed cannot bear any fruit unless the party aggrieved is not given a patient hearing which the people of Jammu least expect from the personnel of the commission announced earlier by the Kashmir Government.

I enclose herewith a statement ~~ef~~ to disclose the hollowness of Kashmir Government declaration regarding the adjustment of the boundries of various districts that appeared in your paper of 6th Feb. 1953, on page 7 column 4. I ^{also} enclose herewith the map of Jammu and Kashmir state and I hope that it will throw some light on the burning problem of the day for the guidance of your readers in particular and Indian public opinion in General.

Yours faithfully,

R. N. Bhargotra,
Advocate

The role of the Communist Party
of India has been summed up
as under:

Srinagar : The Communist Party of India (Right) has travelled a full circle in getting back at the idea of "the fullest autonomy and democracy" for Kashmir.

The Party's General Secretary, Mr. C. Rajeshwar Rao, who was here recently on a week's "study tour", told newsmen that while his party favoured immediate release of Sheikh Abdullah and removal of restrictions on the movement of Mirza Mohammed Afzal Beg, the solution to the "Kashmir issue" could be worked out on the basis of an autonomous Kashmir. In order that this did not appear a firm commitment from his Party, Mr. Rao hastened to add that before any solution is arrived at, there should be a good deal of "lobbying and canvassing" after the Sheikh is released.

It is interesting to note that as far back as 1947, when the Communist Party attempted to weave a web around the Sheikh, the Communist Party workers like B.P.L Bedi and others were responsible for giving the Kashmir constitution the bias of a independent country's constitution. In this they ~~unsuccessfully~~ succeeded quite eminently inasmuch as the Kashmir constitution adopted clauses enabling the State to have a separate flag, a Sadar-i-Riyasat and the like.

However, the Communists changed their stand in 1953 and were mainly responsible for the coup in which Sheikh Abdullah was dismissed and arrested. The Moscow-patriots saw in Sheikh's postures an attempt to precipitate an independent status for Kashmir. Since this was not acceptable to their ~~big~~ bosses in Moscow, the Communists engineered a coup saying that the Sheikh had become a victim of "imperialist conspiracy".

In manipulating 1953 events in Kashmir, the Communists had envisaged a "complete take over" eventually. But they had face complete failure when the then Prime Minister of the State, Bakshi Ghulam Mohammed, began to clear his ranks of communists from 1955 onwards. The Indian communists were in a quandry because Bakshi Ghulam Mohammed condemned western moves for forcing a solution to Kashmir issue as vehemently as he condemned the communist scheming in and outside Kashmir. //

The Indian Communists were, therefore, left high and dry. They aimed their guns at the Bakshi before whom the progressives like Messers Sadiq, Qasim and Dhar appeared incompetent and ineffective. 1963 was staged. The loss of the holy relic from the Hazratbal shrine came in handy and the Communists approved the line adopted by Mr. G.M.Sadiq in demanding the abrogation of Article 370 of the Indian Constitution which guarantees special status to Kashmir. The Indian Communists supported Sadiq in demanding fuller integration of the State with the rest of the country. Evidently, this was not really what they meant. For after Mr. Sadiq took over, the Indian Communists have not forced the implementation of the abrogation of ~~annexed~~ Article 370 and the rest. The game was complete with the elimination of Bakshi from the political scene. For the Communists, the battle was half one as "comrades got into office".

Since 1964, however, even while some communists were inducted into State politics by Messers Sadiq and Qasim, dissatisfaction with the administration has gone on mounting. Hardly any year has passed without trouble. In 1964, the Kashmir valley was held to ransom by Sheikh Abdullah and Maulvi Farooq. In 1965, the armed Pakistani infiltrators were around Srinagar necessitating a full-scale Indo-Pak war. 1966 was the year of drought in Jammu and floods in the

valley. And as 1967 seemed to passing off peacefully, the valley witnessed the month-long Pandit agitation and the recent pre-Pakistan student trouble, in both of which about ten persons lost their lives. Apart from this miserable law and order situation, Jammu and Kashmir has witnessed "new proportions" in corruption and maladministration as was clear during the last session of the State Legislature. During recent trouble, all the opposition parties in the State including the Plebiscite Front, accused the ruling Congress of having fanned communal disaffection. The discontent with the administration reached the stage of the three wings of the State - Jammu, Kashmir valley and Ladakh - clamouring for regional autonomy.

The Communist Party of India could not afford to be blind to these facts. Mr. Rajeshwar Rao is understood to have ~~been~~ agreed with his local men that the Sadiq Government had miserably failed and it must be get rid of. He is further understood to have enlightened his local boys that "an old communist is more dangerous than an anti-communist".

In this context what is surprising is Mr. Rao's aversion to the suggestion of imposition of President's Rule in the State. In his talks with the State Chief Minister, Mr. Sadiq, Mr. Rao is, however, learnt to have not ruled out the possibility of Government of India clamping President's Rule in the State. When Mr. Sadiq maintained that the step would invoke international wrath, Mr. Rao is learnt to have told Sadiq that he had better clear his mind of such logic after the Pakistani attack on Kashmir of 1965.

Whatever the communist designs on Kashmir on the idea of "fullest autonomy and democracy", their acceptance of the "total failure" of the Sadiq Government is important. Much as they would not have liked to admit it, they have ~~wone~~ so. The compelling intensity of the circumstances now prevailing in Kashmir must be judged by this.

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(Gopal Dass Sachar)
Correspondent.

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also

August _____ 1953.

Since the day of my return to Jammu I have been receiving detailed information about the atrocities committed by Police and Militia in different parts of Jammu. The information has been coming both from the victims of the atrocities and highly respectable and responsible unattached persons. It shows that there has been large scale looting of the villages in tehsils of Jammu, Akhnoor, Nowshera, Rajouri, Reasi, Ramban and Basohli by the Police and the Militia. People of the villages were literally forced out of their homes and they had to stay for days and weeks in outlying jungles leaving all they possessed to the mercy of custodians of law and order who behaved as worst brigands and free-looters.

The arrested satyagrahies were invariably subjected to merciless beating and torture in and outside the Police lock ups before their conviction. The victim of Police firing were treated in a most barbarous way. I have cases before me where lives of some persons injured by bullets could have been saved had medical aid been given to them. But the authorities not only did not give any medical aid to them but also prevented others from doing so.

The worst part of these atrocities is the crimes against women. I have got definite information about criminal assault and rape of innocent girls and women by very responsible police officers of the State not to speak of ordinary constables who were encouraged to do such things by giving to them spirituous drinks before they set out on their head-hunting expeditions.

These are things which must shake the conscience of any civilised person. The resentment these happenings have created in the minds of the people of Jammu is both natural and intense. In the interest of justice and morality as also for pacifying the minds of the people it is essential that

Government should set up an impartial commission of enquiry presided over by a Supreme court judge to investigate into these atrocities. This is a most urgent matter and does not brook any delay.

I do not want to do any thing at this ^{juncture} ~~stage~~ which may embarrass the Government. But justice must be done to pacify the people whose suffering has been so great. Further the criminal officers will continue to harass people to fabricate evidence in their favour till such an enquiry begins.

I also want to avoid any untoward incident which may take place because of the universal resentment against such criminal officers.

I therefore plead with you to take early steps in the matter.

I expect an early intimation from you in this connection.

Yours

Sheikh Mohd. Abdullah
Hon'ble Prime Minister,
Jammu & Kashmir State,
Srinagar.

(Prem Nath Dogra)
(President,
All Jammu & Kashmir Praja Parishad,
J A M M U.

* * * * *

Copies submitted to:-

1. Bakshi Ghulam Mohammed,
Hon'ble Home Minister,
Jammu & Kashmir State,
2. Shree Jawahar Lal Ji Nehru,
Hon'ble Prime Minister of India.
3. Dr. Kailash Nath Katju,
Hon'ble Home Minister of India.

for information and favour of early/necessary action.

TELEGRAM

- 1- Honble Shree Jawaharlal Nehru Premier
- 2- Honble Shree Katju States Minister
- 3- Honble RA Kidwai Food Minister
- 4- " AP Jain Rehabilitation Minister

New Delhi

"

"

REF. TELEGRAM TENANTS GADHIGARI FARMS JAMMU 21ST AUGUST 1954
19TH STOP GADHIGARI LAND OWNED BY MAHARAJA HARISHCHANDRA TAKEN UNDER
LAND REFORMS ACT IN RAJSAHI 2011 STOP UNDER RULES ~~KNOWLEDGE~~ RIGHT
UP TO 100 CANALS GOES TENANTS STOP TENANTS CONSISTING LOCALS AND REFUGEES
CULTIVATED LAND ACCORDING RIGHTS STOP NOW WITH WHEAT CROPS ABOUT RIFE
PROVINCIAL REHABILITATION OFFICER JAMMU OUSTED CULTIVATORS ON 16TH AUGUST
FORCIBLY STOP WHEAT CROPS 300 ACRES ESTIMATING 7000 MAUNDS GRAINS
9000 MAUNDS FODDER DESTROYED HIGHLY UNETHICALLY STOP EJECTED LAND BEING
ALLOTTED REFUGEES WHO HAVE NO PRIOR RIGHT MOSTLY TRAILERS MEN EVEN NON
AGRICULTURISTS STOP EJECTION CAUSED DESTRUCTION ALREADY REHABILITATED
REFUGEES WHO LIVED ON HARD LABOUR BUT NEVER BECAME BURDEN ON GOVERNMENT
JOINING REFUGEES CAMPS STOP OUSTED PERSONS RENDERED LANDLESS AND WITHOUT
MEANS BOTH FOR MEN AND ANIMALS STOP AGRIEVED PERSONS WERE ON SATYAGRAH
WITH THEIR ANIMALS AND 6 PLOUGHS SAME DAY BUT NEXT DAY IT SUSPENDED ON
ASSURANCE BY OFFICIALS JAMMU THAT KASHMIRI AND REVENUE COMING JAMMU
19TH AUGUST STOP RESTORATION POSSESSION LAND COMPENSATION DESTROYED
CROPS BEING ARRANGED ON THEIR ARRIVAL STOP ONLY FINANCE MINISTER CAME
ON 21ST AUGUST VISITED DESTROYED CROPS STOP ARRANGEMENTS COMPENSATION
TAKEN IN HAND STOP FOR RESTORATION POSSESSION HE ASSURED TO BE DONE
ON HIS BACK FROM DELHI WHEN REVENUE WILL ALSO BE DONE JAMMU STOP AS
TREASURY FINANCE RETURNED SRINAGAR DIRECT BY AIR ON 30TH STOP REVENUE ALSO
NOT CAME STOP SEEMS KASHMIR GOVERNMENT NOT CARING FOR OUR RIGHTFUL
GRIEVANCES STOP NO ARRANGEMENT DAILY REQUIREMENTS GRASS STOP ANIMALS
STARVING STOP FURTHER AGITATION ~~KNOWLEDGE~~ STOP PRAY INTERVIEW
AND ARRANGE RESTORATION POSSESSION REASONABLE COMPENSATION DESTROYED
CROPS AND TRANSFER BOTH PRO AND ASSET. PRO FROM REHABILITATION DEPT.
OTHERWISE WE OBLIGED RESUME SATYAGRAH AFTER 1ST SEPT. KASHMIR GOVT.
INFORMED ACCORDINGLY

OUSTED PERSONS GADHIGARI

H.T.T

SECRETARY OUSTED PERSONS
GADHIGARI FARMS

DATED 31-8-54

Dated, New Delhi, the 27th May, 1952

Respected Pandit Ji,

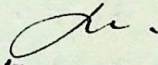
I am pained to find from the letter of your Private Secretary that you have turned down my repeated request for an interview.

I have come from Jammu expressly with the idea of seeking your guidance about the difficult situation that has been created in the State by the declarations and policies of the Kashmir Government particularly those concerning the future relationship of the State with India. Those who do not completely agree with the stand taken by the National Conference are not allowed to open their lips in the State and are not given any hearing by the your Government as well. But when they do anything to vindicate their stand both you as also Sheikh Abdullah's Government pounce upon them. This is a most unfortunate position.

Moreover an interview had become necessary to remove the wrong impression given to you by the interested persons regarding the alleged misuse of my previous interview with you.

I expected a more considerate and broad minded treatment from you. But the attitude adopted by you has disappointed me.

Yours sincerely,


(Prem Nath Dogra),
President,

All Jammu & Kashmir Praja Parishad,
Kalabadi, Reading Road,
New Delhi.

Shree Jawaharlal Ji Nehru,
Hon'ble Prime Minister,
Indian Dominion,
New Delhi.

Dated, Dehli, the 22nd May 1952

Respected Pandit Ji,

I am pained to read the reply sent on your behalf by your Private Secretary to my request for an interview. Your charge that I gave wrong impression to people about my last interview with you, I am sorry to say, is based on absolutely wrong information supplied to you by interested quarters which are also responsible for creating misunderstanding about the Praja Parishad.

In view of the difficult phase through which Kashmir problem is passing I feel it necessary to remove the misunderstanding in your mind about myself and my organization. I claim to have the interests of India and the State at my heart no less than any body else. I therefore request your honour to give me an opportunity to meet you in person to remove the misunderstandings. That I feel is necessary in the best interest of both India and the State.

To endorse the ^{accession} ~~accession~~ issue which had been completed with the Maharaja's signing of the Instrument of accession, a Constituent Assembly was convened. The elections for the ^{said} ~~said~~ were held. Circumstances were created to confirm the belief that they were not being conducted in a free atmosphere. The Praja Parishad had to boycott it because there was no alternative in these circumstances.

The General Council demands that since the purpose of the Constituent Assembly has been fulfilled, new elections be held affording opportunity to every individual citizen in the State to take part in the legislatures of the State.

1954

To endorse the ~~accession~~ ^{accession} issue which had been completed with the Maharaja's signing of the Instrument of accession, a Constituent Assembly was convened. The elections for the ~~Assembly~~ ^{Sansad} were held. Circumstances were created to confirm the belief that they were not being conducted in a free atmosphere. The British Period had boycotted it because there was no alternative in those circumstances.

The General Council demands that since the purpose of the Constituent Assembly has been fulfilled, new elections be held affording opportunity to every individual citizen in the State to take part in the legislature of the State.

At the words from speech of
the President
Franklin D. Roosevelt
7/71

Following is the full test of the
Statement which Shri Durga Dass Verman
issued after personal enquiring in the
police excesses on January 26th , 2 on
31. 1. 1953

Facts have fully substantiated our allegation against the high handedness and all advised conduct of the police authorities. The continued and deliberate silence which the executive authorities have maintained confirms our belief that these provocative measures have their approval. The irresponsible attitude of the police ~~xxx~~ on 26th January 1953 must prove an eye opener into the alleged police excesses.

A detailed programme to celebrate the republic day was chalked out by the parishad. Flag hoisting ceremony was to take place in the main city square, the place where the different groups of probhat pharies were to watch this solemn ceremony. As soon as the 1200 strong procession including near about 500 women ~~xxxxx~~ raising slogan.

Ek Desh Main dho Vidhan

Ek Desh Main dho Pardhan

Ek Desh Main dho Nishan

Nahine challenge Nahine challenge, Rajan Babu Jinda Badh, Mahatma Gandhi Amar Rahe, was made to sit in an most disciplined and organised manner to hear the message which I had issued on this historic day, the police party headed by an Inspector of police arrived on the ~~same~~ scene. Meanwhile the colourful salute by the well-Uniformed Band to make the hoisting of the National Flag was over. A special ~~was~~ ~~duas~~ made of bricks and well cemented had been erected for the purpose in the preceding night of January 25th by the parishad volunteers.

The police objected to the ceremony under the silly pretext that the traffic was obstructed and as such the people should disperse further. The Parishad Volunteers on spot argued that as the ceremony was to take place only a few minutes, the question of obstruction to the free movement of traffic did not arise. But the police authorities, who had arrived with a ~~xxx~~ definite motive to dishonour the national flag and excite & incite the public. The inspector instantaneously ordered a Lathi charge, which resulted in ~~xxx~~ serious injuries to seven persons including three women. The cemented

As a protest the whole city immediately observed a half day strike, thus sending shame to the bureaucratic irresponsibility. The story of counter fires from the public and injuries to any of the police officers as announced by the radio so shamelessly is an after -
- thought fabrication thus the sole responsibility of these untoward happenings is the shoulders of the Government which has all along encouraged police officers in these most un-called for measures.

Jai Bhart.

Durga Dass Verma

General Secretary all Jammu
& Kashmir Prajaparisad

1959

The Prime Minister,
Government of Indian Union,
New Delhi.

Sir,

We feel it our patriotic duty to bring to your notice through the following memorandum the growing deterioration in the internal situation of Jammu and Kashmir State which if not improved in time, is bound to affect adversely the wider interest of India as a whole. The need for greater attention and speedy improvement in the situation has been made imperative by the development in Pakistan and intensification of the Pakistani propaganda of preparation for sabotage and war from inside and outside the strategic part of India.

Eleven years have passed since Jammu and Kashmir State which has been an integral part of India, historically, geographically and culturally all through the ages, acceded to India according to the procedure laid down in the Mountbatten Plan. It was then hoped that the anomalies in the relationship of Jammu and Kashmir with the rest of India will be removed, and its people, as citizens of India, will be given opportunity to run a new leaf in their lives and live as equal citizens of India enjoying the rights and liberties guaranteed by the Constitution of India.

But these hopes and aspirations have remained unfulfilled so far. The Government of India has thought it fit to lay store more by a few individuals than by the peoples of the State as such. And these individuals, first Shiekh Abdullah and now Bakshi Ghulam Mohammad, are more interested in keeping themselves in power by denying to the people their basic rights and liberties, than in developing a spirit of unity and equality in the people of the State and their brethren in the rest of India. It is this desire to keep power in his own hands which

K.L.O

motivated Shiekh Abdullah to insist upon a separate Constitution for the State which gave his and his Government special and unchallenged powers to ride through stood over the basic rights, liberties and aspirations of the people to be one with the rest of India.

The people, therefore, raised their voice against his separatist and dictatorial policies. Under the leadership of Praja Parishad thousands of people suffered incarcerations and scores of people faced police bullets in the defence of India's tri-colour flag in this part of India. This epic of suffering and sacrifice culminated in the supreme sacrifice of late Dr. Shyama Prasad Mookerji in Srinaga Jail, which finally opened the eyes of the people and Government of India to the realities of the situation in the State and ambition of Shiekh Abdullah.

With downfall of Abdullah and rise of Bakhshi Ghulam Mohammad to power hopes were raised once again that anomalies in the relationship of Jammu and Kashmir State with the rest of India will be removed once for all and that disabilities from which the people of the State are made to suffer for the pleasure of the ruling Junta will be done away with. But we are pained to say that even though five years have passed since that change over the people's hopes and aspirations about becoming one with their compatriots of the rest of India in all respects have not only remained unfulfilled but what is worse they are even being deprived of the most elementary rights and liberties. Bakhshi Ghulam Mohammad in order to perpetuate himself in power is following such policies as have saped all good will of the people which he initially enjoyed. He has become a ruthless dictator trying to keep himself in power by all means fair or foul. Absence of full jurisdiction of Supreme Court of India has enabled him and his

K.T.O

Government to curb the basic liberties and freedom of the people who are being denied the freedom of speech, association and expression in so many dubious ways. What is worse the elections to the State Legislature and to the local Panchayats are being so rigged as to make them a mere force. Some glaring and incontrovertible example of this ruthless suppression of civil liberties lawlessness and rigging of election are given below :-

1. Interference by the persons belonging to the party in power in the administration of the State is very commonly seen in the Jammu and Kashmir State. If the administration takes upon itself to transfer a person against whom the administration receives numerous complaints such transfers are later withheld on the interference of the members belonging to the National Conference. One such instance is that of Mr. Dr. R. S. Modi Health Officer of the Jammu Municipality. This complaints have increased to such an extent that the "Kashmir Post" a pro-Government paper had to write in its edition dated January 10th, 1959

"We would particularly like to draw the attention of the Government towards two or three main defects which are at the root of over-all in-efficiency in the administration.

Firstly undue interference with day to day working of the administration by the Political executives (Ministers etc.) should be completely stopped. This single factor is responsible for the lack of the qualities of efficiency, initiative, imagination, leadership and taking of responsibility among the civil service. This undue interference in administrative matters is also responsible for growing inefficiency and corruption. There have been instances to prove that this undue interference on the part of some of the Ministers has resulted in undoing of flouting some of the decisions of the Government."

This is not only with this Government alone but since the very inception of popular rule in the state it has been faced by the people very often. Even the Chief Conservator of Forests had to complain against the undue interference of the National Conference Organization in his administrative affairs. This interference has created

in-efficiency in the administration and induces the Government employees also to take part in the party politics. The Government machinery act on the advice of the National Conference Organization and they do all foul acts to see that their masters are pleased in one way or other with the result that the people do not get justice at their hands because they do not dare to complain against their high-handed acts. We have several times demanded from the Government of Jammu and Kashmir that the Government machinery should be left aloof to decide matters for themselves and not to be interfered but this advice and suggestion has been ridiculed and not weighed in its true perspective.

2. The administration has become top heavy. In the days of the Maharaja there were only five Ministers to look after the affairs of the entire state including that part which has now been occupied by the Pakistan and at present there are 12 Ministers to look after 2/3rd part of the State. Not only that the Police expenditure in the State has increased from 16 lacs to 64 lacs with the result that there is lesser efficiency. Murderers go un-traced and people abstain from reporting the offences in the police station for getting the offenders penalised. Their confidence in the efficiency investigation and inquiry is completely shaken. Besides that superfluous posts are being created to accommodate the retired hands and also persons in the good books of the rulers. The Office of the Constitutional Advisor is still being retained to accommodate another retired hand. Recently again a new post of Chairman Land Laws Committee has been created to accommodate the retiring Financial Commissioner.

In 30 Tehsils of the entire state there were previously 30 Tehsildars with same number of Maib Tehsildars but at present there are about 60 Tehsildars and about 125 their Naibs. Besides the above mentioned superfluous posts special advisors, and Special Officers

attached to various Departments of the Jammu and Kashmir State have been appointed with a plea to bring the administration in tune with rest of India.

3. F_O_O_D S_I_T_U_A_T_I_O_N

The food situation in the State has deteriorated since the year, 1947. Previous to that three lakh maunds of food stuffs were imported from India to meet the deficit to feed the entire population of the State and now that 1/3rd part of the State which was mostly a deficit area, is in the possession of the enemy and 1/4th of the population is on the other side of the ~~enemy~~ Cease Fire Line the Government figures tell that the State is deficit of 42.52 lakhs maunds of food stuffs. It may also be mentioned here that the State has spent about 3 crores of rupees on the improvement of Irrigation of the State and about one crore on the improvement of Agriculture for increasing the production of the food stuffs. The various land reforms introduced so far to increase the food stuffs have also resulted in the increase of the import of food stuffs. The Government has given several different figures that it has spent for the improvement of the irrigation for production of the food stuffs. These figures are varying and are distorted. Questions in the Assembly regarding the authenticity of the figures are not replied. In the State the food situation inspite of all the expenditure that the Government has borne has not shown any better results.

4. L_A_W_L_E_S_S_N_E_S_S

There is complete lawlessness in the Jammu and Kashmir State. Dacoits go set free because they have the backing of the leaders of the National Conference-ruling party. Attack on the Government officials are not cared for and the accused belonging to the National Conference are not prosecuted. In October, 1957, the Excise Party aided by the Police and the Magistrate raided Bhore Camp for detecting the

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illicit traffic in illicit distillation. More than 1000 gallons of illicit liquor were recovered from this camp and the persons from whom this illicit liquor was recovered backed by S. Janak Singh, the leader of the camp, who also happens to be a member of the Executive of the provincial National Conference attacked the raiding party and deprived the officers of their uniforms they were wearing and also some other articles. The case against these persons was registered under sections 395, 149, 332 of the R.P.C and the persons arrested were released by the timely help of the leaders of the National Conference to these assailants. They later induced the District Magistrate to write to the Government prosecutor to withdraw the case. In spite of the fact that it had been sent by the Additional Magistrate to the Sub Judge Magistrate 1st Class on the 18th November, 1957. The challan was presented to the said Magistrate on 28.4.1958 with the request that the case be allowed to be withdrawn and the order of the Sub-Judge Magistrate on the file reads as :-

" 28.4.58. Government Prosecutor Present.

Accused absent. Challan has been produced to day. It may be entered on the register. The Government prosecutor has submitted an application that in accordance with the order of the District Magistrate he may be allowed to withdraw the case. There is no reason mentioned in this application for withdrawal of the case. Any how the permission is hereby given. The statement of the Government prosecutor is recorded. Since the sanction ~~is given~~ for the withdrawal has been given the case be dismissed and consigned to the records and the accused be deemed to be discharged."

Order announced

Sd/- S.J. Magistrate, 1st Class Jammu

Attacks on the workers of the opposition parties is the order of the day. In the Kashmir Valley even M.L.A.'s are not spared. The Ex-Revenue

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Minister, Syed Mir Qasim and ex-Speaker of the Legislative Assembly Mr. Ghulam Rasool Ranzu were attacked while they had gone to Sopore in connection with the Town Area Elections. Ghulam Rasool Kar was also man-handled and severely beaten. Even in Jammu province Mr. Rajinder Singh M.L.A who had gone to Poonch in connection with the organizational work was attacked and the meeting he was addressing, was tried to be dispersed with the help of the police and the Block Development Officers. Mr. Abdul Rehman a member of the working committee of the Praja Parishad was also man-handled by the Tehsil Secretary of the National Conference Mr. G.H. Goni. And very recently in the month of December, 1958 when two workers of the Praja Parishad of Ramban Mr. Babhoo Ram Tehsil President of Praja Parishad and Charanjit Lal had been to illaqa Bhattal Tehsil Reasi they were attacked by the goondas who were being led by the patwari Abdul Majid and other Government officials of that area. One of the above mentioned two workers Mr. Charanjit Lal received very serious injuries. This is not a single instance in that area even previously Shri Beli Ram, Lumberdar who had dared to challenge the election of Mr. Mohammad Ayub Khan, Deputy Speaker Legislative Assembly who also happens to be the President of the Provincial National Conference has been implicated in several criminal cases like murder of persons who were later found to be alive. His house was stoned and he was ~~knigh~~ tortured to the maximum to withdraw the petition. Reports were lodged with the police and the Prime Minister also was informed.

C_O_R_R_U_P_T_I_O_N

Corruption, nepotism and favouritism is rampant in the administration. The Prime Minister himself corrupts the men by purchasing the workers of the political parties. Persons belonging to the National Conference are recruited in the Government Service thereby inducing people to join the National Conference for getting service

in the Government and also other favours from it. Contracts and route permits are granted in favour of those persons who agree to work for the National Conference. Complaints against the Sub Judge Magistrate 1st Class Reasi Shri Tek Chand for his being corrupt and having taken bribes from the litigants has not been inquired into inspite of the public demand and representation.

P_L_A_N_S

The first and the second five year plan in the Jammu and Kashmir State were formulated without proper planning. There have been bungling in the construction works and crores of rupees have been waste on these plans. For instance the Kishtwar Canal which was originally estimated to cost 6 lakhs to the State Ex.chequer has taken 28.68 lakhs of rupees and had to be given up because it was found impracticable to be dug. Money allotted to the Panchayats has been embezzled in every block. Even the C.I.D reports and Audit Reports confirm the above facts. No action is being taken against the defaulters because they happen to be either the members of the National Conference or the favourits and relatives of the ruling clique. Industries working in the Maharaj's rule have since been closed and those started by the present regime like Jammu Wood Factory, Thana Woods Works and Ramnagar Woollen Weaving centre and many others have been closed. The conditions of remaining factories like Willow Factory, Drug Factory and Sericulture are also not satisfactory. Industrial loans have been given to the National Conference workers. These loans have also not been utilized for the purpose for which these were given to them nor these have been realized. Private Weaving Handcrafts providing work to thousands of workers have also suffered extinction due to non-availability of cotton yarn.

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ELECTIONS

Elections to the Jammu and Kashmir Legislative Assembly were conducted in a very corrupt and high-handed manner. The Government officials were instructed by Bakhshi Ghulam Mohammad Prime Minister to reject the nomination papers of the Praja Parishad candidates. 20 election petitions regarding the elections in the Jammu Province were filed about two years ago. Out of these 20 only two have been disposed off upto now and the single man election tribunal has been appointed for the entire State. Whereas in the rest of India there is one Election Tribunal for each District. And in cases where the elections have been declared void bye-elections have been conducted and if there had been any corrupt practice in those elections the elections petitions have been filed with regard to such elections as well but in the State even though it is, as far as 22 August, 1958, that the Honourable High Court declared the election of Mr. G.A. Dev a National Conference candidate of the Doda constituency to be void. No bye-election has been conducted ~~xxxxxx~~ so far and there is no possibility of the elections being conducted in this constituency for another period of four months.

Official interference and that of Bakhshi Ghulam Mohammad's personal interference in Town Area elections have been very much seen during these elections. The opposition candidates were kidnapped and were forced at the point of pistol to withdraw the contest. In Bishna the successful Praja Parishad candidate was declared unsuccessful and was later tortured and severely beaten. When he came out of the clutches of the Police and was being brought to Jammu for medical inspection and for deposing ~~xxxx~~ true facts he was re-arrested by the Police along with those who were bringing him to Jammu. These persons were also tortured.

Such are the woeful conditions in the Jammu and Kashmir State

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and it has created a strong belief in the people that as long as this Government and as long as the State enjoys the special status in the Indian Constitution and the present Government is in power and the jurisdiction of the election Commission of India and that act of the Supreme Court in complete is not extended to the State of Jammu and Kashmir there can be no free elections in this state as a result thereof no legal constitutional and orderly Government can be set up in the Jammu and Kashmir State. This is not a hidden secret and as your honour have also declared it in your speech in the Parliament.

Besides the suppression of civil liberties and rugging of elections which is steadily destroying faith of the people in democratic remedies for the redress of their grievances, the ruling Junta is playing havoc with the administration by complications, aligning it with ruling party and making it an instrument for party propaganda. As a result all officials who do not like to subordinate their independence of judgement of the ruling party dictation are finding themselves in a very precarious position. Inefficient and corrupt juniors who are prepared to play second fiddle to the ruling party are being promoted to high posts without any regard to seniority and efficiency. Funds given for the execution of the 2nd Five Year Plan are being spent more to further party interests than for real improvement of the State. Artisanism, provincialism and communalism and also inefficiency and corruption are rampant in all walks of administration.

All this has created general discontent amongst the people of the state. The blame for all the corruption and suppression of liberties is being assigned to the government of India which, in the popular eye, is the power behind the present ruling Junta. Naturally this situation is being exploited by anti-India elements to the detriment of the wider interests of India. It has, therefore, become

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imperative for the Government of India to look into the whole situation and take remedial measures without any further delay. Indian Government cannot take shelter behind the convenient plea that internal affairs in the State are the responsibility of the State Government because the issue and interests involved in Kashmir ultimately affect the whole of India and not Kashmir alone.

We, therefore, appeal to you to take immediate steps on the lines given below to save the situation in the State from further deterioration.

1. Pending full application of the Constitution of India to the Jammu & Kashmir State after the deletion of section 370 in the Indian Constitution, immediate steps should be taken to bring the State Judiciary fully under the control of the Supreme Court and extend the jurisdiction of the Election Commissioner of India to the State so that all further elections in the State be conducted by it.
2. Since the State officials have lost all independence and integrity and have become demoralised senior staff for conducting elections should be deputed from India.
3. Elections to the local bodies so far held be scrapped and fresh elections ordered under the supervision of a high and impartial judicial officer.
4. People of the State be given the right to elect their representatives to the Lok Sabha directly and that elections must be conducted by the Election Commission of India.
5. The State officials promoted to I.A.S and I.P.S cadres be sent outside for gaining further experience and training and some experienced I.A.S and I.P.S officers holding independent views from other parts of the country be sent to the State to tone up the State administration.

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6. An all party planning advisory committee including experts in the industry etc. should be set up to advise and guide the State in respect of schemes to be taken up and money to be spent for the plan purposes.

Any failure to move quickly on the lines suggested above is certain to create further complications. People of the State are looking to the Government of India for the redress of their legitimate grievances and making the administration good and efficient. If they are dis-appointed they will have to turn to other remedies which may not be very palatable to the Government of India at this movement. It is why we earnestly request you not to allow the things to drift. Let us all endeavour to keep the wider interests of the motherland and his Government. Social and unchal above party's interest and do the things in right time.

Yours faithfully,

Dated Jammu the,
Feb., 1959.

(PREM NATH DOGRA)
PRESIDENT
ALL JAMMU & KASHMIR PRAJA PARISHAD
JAMMU TAWI.

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In response to an invitation from Shree Yuvaraj Bahadur a Praja Parishad delegation headed by Pandit Premnath Dogra met him at Srinagar and had a series of talks in an atmosphere of cordiality and understanding.

The issue of acceptance or rejection of office of Elected Head of the State was discussed. It being the first chance in which Jammu people were invited for consultations, the Praja Parishad stand for full accession and application of the Indian Constitution, with particular reference to the dangerous implications of creating a Republic within Republic in having a separate flag separate constitution and Elected Headship was fully explained to him. The denial of civil liberties and fundamental rights, the unrepresentative character of the Constituent Assembly and reactions to the various issues arising out of Indo Kashmir agreement were also placed before him. The abolition of Hereditary Monarchy - the only binding link between the different constituent units of the State was also a subject of discussion.

Shree Yuvaraj gave a patient hearing to all that the delegation had to say. He threw light on the various aspects of the situation and gave an analysis of some wider issues involved, with particular reference to the integrity of the State, the interests of the country at large and international situation.

The delegation after giving their best consideration to Shree Yuvaraj Jee's analysis of the situation, and in view of the fact that it is considered imperative to approach the Government of India in connection with the detrimental decisions of the Constituent Assembly feels that so long as the question of Maharaja's abdication or withdrawal of his recognition as Raj-putramukh is not finally decided by the Government of India and till the new constitution for the State assumes a concrete shape it would be premature to give any definite opinion over this single issue of accepting or rejecting the office of the Head of the State by Shree Yuvaraj Bahadur.

Dated _____.

tyrannical rule of one party dictatorship, we look upon them as part of the suffering people. The Government by resorting to such propaganda want to shift the outcome of its erroneous policies over us.

In all humility I call upon every Kashmiri, whenever he is to understand the true perspective of our life and death struggle launched for (1) full and unconditional accession to India (2) application of Indian constitution and Indian flag over the state.

viewing on this plan there is nothing provincial or communal in it. Every patriot having faith in the secular constitution of India must extend all possible to our movement. mutual distrust at this juncture of our country is highly -- deplorable. There lies the elevation of the state.

Gurjatesh Verma

(DIPKA DESS VERMA)

GENERAL SECRETARY

ALL JAMMU & KASHMIR PEACE PARISHAD
JAMMU

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Jung Bahadur Vohra

(DITEN 1948 VOTHO)

GENERAL SECRETARY

ALL JAMMU & KASHMIR PEASANT PARISHAD
JAMMU

Jammu & Kashmir Praja Parishad

जम्मू-कश्मीर प्रजापरिषद

(Central Office Jammu)

Ref. No. 1491.

Dated. 18.6.1951.

The Hon'ble Deputy Prime Minister,
Jammu and Kashmir Government,
Srinagar.

Dear Sir,

This is in continuation of our telegram dated 12.6.1951, regarding serious beating of the Praja Parishad people by the National Conference workers at Sudhmahadev in District Udhampur. The moment I received the report of the sad incident, I proceeded to Udhampur to enquire into the matter. The detail of the case is that a public meeting ^{to be held on 11th June, 1951.} had been arranged a week before at Sudhmahadev in Chanderi Illaqa. Accordingly the Praja Parishad meeting commenced at the appointed time with a song. As soon as the song concluded, a batch of 50 people armed with axes and lathies was seen approaching to the meeting place raising slogans *Shor-i-Kashmir Zindabad*, *Motiron Baigra Zindabad*, *National Conference Zindabad* and *Praja Parishad Zindabad*. On reaching the spot, they cordoned the stage, abused the workers and fell upon them with their axes and lathies. Mr. Pundiraj, Organising Secretary, Udhampur

DOGRA SANSTHA:

Dogra Sanstha is a cultural Organisation of the Dogra Pahari people of Jammu. It has been working for the last nine years for the cultural and Social advancement of our people. It is a patriotic body. It was the first to welcome the rise of popular democracy in the State in 1947 and work actively for the spread of National Conference Movement in Jammu Province, because we believe that the consolidation of patriotic elements in the State would lend strength and stability to the forces of nationalism in India (A copy of the appeal made to the people by the Organisation at that time is attached for your perusal). As such we alone can reflect the true aspirations of our people, their tone and temper as we alone have living contacts with them.

The proposed constitution of the State - ordinarily, we keep away from politics but when politics begins to have a vital bearings upon our future as a people, silence does not retain its attributed golden qualities. The recent announcement of Hon'ble Mirza Mohd Afzal Beg the Hon'ble Revenue Minister of the State in the Constituent Assembly has had a far reaching effect on our people and their culture. It is in the belief that the representation of the real feelings and sentiments of the people about these would be of some help to you in understanding the nature of the problem and in finding a basis for minimum working agreement, that we have taken liberty of addressing these few lines to you.

ACCESSION AND RELATIONS WITH INDIA:-

The State's relations with India are governed by the terms of the Instrument of Accession and subsequent stipulations which secure for the State a greater degree of separation than the other acceding States. An acceding state can stipulate for a greater measure of

1951
Jammu & Kashmir Praja Parishad

जम्मू-कश्मीर प्रजापरिषद

(Central Office Jammu)

Ref. No.....

2 Copies

Dated.....

To

The Chief Election Commissioner,
Jammu and Kashmir Government,
Srinagar.

Dear Sir,

I hope you remember our request for a paper of our ^{own} Press and Platform both being the sine-quo-non of free and fair elections, you were kind enough to recommend our case to Hon'ble Bakshi Ghulam Mohomed the Deputy Prime Minister. Time left for elections being too short, the matter needs to be given top-most priority. I expect from you, as the head of elections work, that you would see that the chances of fair and impartial elections are not curtailed and that the Praja Parishad is allowed to run its own paper without loss of further time.

Yours faithfully,

Sh: D.P. Dhar, *full name*
Chief Election Commissioner,
Jammu and Kashmir Government,
Srinagar.

ulership has been abolished and a distinctive State flag has been adopted. But the other items in the Agreement, such as financial integration and the acceptance of the jurisdiction of the Supreme Court of India have not been taken up for early implementation by the State Government. And these are the very points which have a special appeal to the people of Jammu. Being in a minority with reference to the ~~whole~~ of the State, they regard these provisions as a safeguard for the protection of their fundamental constitutional and economic interests.

But the immediate cause of the present discontent appears to be based on the economic conditions which have marked the province out as a depressed area for a long time. Apparently the measures taken in recent times by the Government have not convinced the local the local population that there will be a change for the better in the condition of life, which a recent press note by the State Government described as "the wretchedness, poverty and degradation of the vast masses of the Jammu people". Finally, there is a large psychological element that bedevils the relationship between the new regime and the Dogra population of Jammu. An observer who has no affiliations either way has summed up the delicate situation thus: "Sheikh Abdullah's regular thrusts at Dogra rule only increase irritation in Jammu. Whether he is conscious of it or not, the State Premier's attitude on Jammu breeds suspicion and distrust among people who regard themselves as dispossessed and out of favour". In action this means everything has to be taken into account in finding a long-term settlement. It is significant that twenty prominent citizens of Jammu who are not members of either the Parishad or the National Conference have urged the State Government to "understand the right demands of the people". The signatories to the appeal include a former Minister of Finance and Home Affairs, a former Governor of Gilgit and the President of the Jammu Chamber of Commerce. Expressing the fear that, if the grave situation is not met speedily, the State's integrity would be jeopardised, they point out the inadequacy of suppressive measures alone. Fortunately Sheikh Abdullah's recent statement on the situation in

Continuing, Sheikh Abdullah said that the future constitutional edifice of the State would be laid on the twin-principles of democracy and communal brotherhood. It was on these principles that the State's accession was made with India in 1947. "At that time only two courses were open to us - to join India or Pakistan. Pakistan tried to coerce us but after due deliberation we acceded to India in the interests of the people. We felt that in principle there was nothing in common between the "New Kashmir" programme and the foundations on which the Pakistan leaders were trying to build their nation. We took this decision at a very critical time when communal fires in some parts of India had not died down."

The people of Kashmir cast their lot with the people of India to uphold and safeguard their freedom and cherished progressive ideals. This communion of ideologies resulted in the establishment of firm political relationship between the State and the ~~United~~ Indian Union. Accordingly an honourable place was given to the State in free India's constitution. In legal phraseology what was termed as Section 370 of the Indian Constitution, was a permanent and inviolable bond between the State and the Indian Union so far as human relationship is concerned.

Sheikh Abdullah made it clear that the State had acceded to India in three subjects viz., Defence, Foreign Affairs and Communications. With regard to the other subjects, he said, that under ^{Article} Section 370 of the Indian Constitution the State's Constituent Assembly was a sovereign body. The position was further clarified in the Delhi Agreement which was approved by the Indian Parliament and the State Constituent Assembly. "The Instrument of Accession, ^{Article} Section 370 of the Indian Constitution and the Delhi Agreement of 1952 now form the basis of relationship between the State and the Indian Union. Both the Governments are bound to implement and abide by them", he added.

Drawing a distinction between "integration" and "accession" the Prime Minister said that those who believed that Kashmir's accession meant merger with India were labouring under false notion. The people of Kashmir he said had no doubt acceded to

| Seat No. | Name |
|----------|---------------------------------------|
| 54. | Hon'ble Shri Bhagat Ram Sharma |
| 55. | Hon'ble Kh. Ayub Khan |
| 56. | Hon'ble Firsada Ghulam Gilani |
| 57. | Hon'ble Raja Moh'd Afzal Khan |
| 58. | Hon'ble Kh. Ghulam Rasool Karipak |
| 59. | Hon'ble Aga Syed Ali Shah |
| 60. | Hon'ble Pir Mohd Maqbook Shah |
| 61. | Hon'ble Kh. Ghulam Rasool Sheikh |
| 62. | Hon'ble Kh. Ghulam Nabi Wani (Lolab) |
| 63. | Hon'ble Kh. Ghulam Nabi Wani Daringam |
| 64. | Hon'ble Kh. Ghulam Mohd-ud-Din Khan |
| 65. | Hon'ble Pir Ghulam Mohd Rasooli |
| 66. | Hon'ble Kh. Ghulam Hassan Lutt |
| 67. | Hon'ble Shri Ram Rakha Mal |
| 68. | Hon'ble Master Ghulam Ahmad |
| 69. | Hon'ble Kh. Ghulam Ahmad Mir |
| 70. | Hon'ble Bhagat Chajju Ram |
| 71. | Hon'ble Kh. Abdul Wahid |
| 72. | Hon'ble Sayed Abdul Qadoos |
| 73. | Hon'ble Kh. Abdul Aziz Shawl |
| 74. | Hon'ble Kh. Ghulam Rasul (Amirakadal) |

(The 75 number was Kh. Ghulam Moh'd Sadiq The President of the Constituent Assembly and occupied Speaker's seat).

Unfiled
N. L. Arora

1953

ONE of the most difficult problems in framing of Jammu & Kashmir State's constitution is to satisfy regional aspirations and other demands of a like nature. The draft circulated has suggested the division of the State into four administrative regions. But this regional divisions proposed in the draft, I am afraid, will lead to the fragmentation and disrupt the progressive political movements in the State as a whole. The proposed regional redistribution of areas has ignored geography, natural barriers, physical lay out of the land, natural outlets, economic and trade relations, and cultural affinities. The draft envisages an unnatural grouping of areas mainly on communal percentage of populations, which if agreed to, might do infinite mischief to the growth of secular politics. The arrangements contemplated will fan communal and racial rivalries and passions, foment communal combinations and encourage communal alignments. The creation of Doda and Rajouri Districts was in the main a purely administrative measure and assurances to this effect were given by the Govt. at the time of their creation to the people of those areas and the people of Jammu. Moreover, such a move at this juncture will help to strengthen the Imperialist plans for a zonal and communal partition of the State.

But similar problems have arisen elsewhere and it would be of immense help to see how they were solved. An attempt should be made to meet regional aspirations without creating separate Govt. Heads, without incurring extra expenditure or effecting fragmentation of financial resources. The case of Austria - Hungary of the pre-1914-era is an instructing instance. If we call Austria-Hungary a Union, Hungary a province and Croatia, a sub province of Hungary, the relations between the province and the sub province were as follows:-

1. The Union, the Province and the sub-province had a common Head.
2. Each had its own legislature and executive dealing with its own subjects.
3. The sub-province had its own contingent of members both in the provincial legislature and the Union ~~Legislature~~ Legislature.
4. The sub-province had a special Minister in the provincial cabinet.
5. The sub-province had its own official language.

Another useful instance is the Government machinery in the united Kingdom for this purpose, it is useful to study the administrative arrangements obtaining in that country in 1912, when the whole of Ireland was still as a part of the United Kingdom. In the U.K. Cabinet of 1912 there were 15 members concerned with domestic administration. If, therefore, dealt with subjects of common interest and exercised their powers in each of the three parts of U.K. Of the rest three were exclusively meant for England, one Secretary of the State for Scotland had functions only in Scotland and one had functions only in Ireland ; others had functions in one part and some in more than one. On the legislative side there was also some measure of regionalism.

It is possible to adapt these arrangements with suitable modifications to the State conditions and meet the desire for regional autonomy to a considerable extent, without jeopardising the political integrity of the State as a whole. The following arrangements based on the two instances quoted above, if considered, can satisfy to a large extent local aspirations without breaking up the State. These arrangements will constitute a particular mode of administering an existing Unit.

1. For more convenient transaction of business the

- State of Jammu and Kashmir may be divided into two administrative Units, the province of Jammu and the province of Kashmir. The Kashmir province shall consist of the three districts of the Kashmir Valley, and Tehsils of Kargil and Ladakh. The Jammu Province shall comprise Jammu Kathua, Udhampur, Doda and Poonch-Rajouri Districts
2. The executive Head of the State will also be the executive Head of the province.
 3. Both the provinces will have a common legislature elected on adult franchise which shall meet twice in Jammu during Winter and twice at Srinagar during Summer and Spring Autumn.
 4. During the first fortnight of its Session, the legislature shall function as the provincial legislature ~~xxx~~ of the province in which it has met, when members elected from that province need alone be present. For the remaining period of its Session, the legislature shall meet as the National Assembly of the State as a whole.
 5. The Head of the State will be advised by provincial Ministers elected from the legislatures of that province in affairs relating to the provincial subjects and by the central cabinet for affairs of common concern.
 6. The provincial Ministers will have their permanent Headquarters at the Capital of the each province, where as the Ministers of the Central Cabinet shall move during Winter to Jammu and during Summer to Srinagar.
 7. All executive actions of the Government will be taken in the name of the Head of the State and deemed as the executive action of the Jammu and Kashmir Government. How and by whom the action is taken is purely a matter of domestic arrangement.
 8. The action of the legislature similarly will be deemed as the action of the State National Assembly. Through which particular set of legislators, the State

legislature acts for a given purpose is again a domestic detail.

9. Each province shall have its own official language or languages.
10. The cultural and linguistic minorities in each province shall have statutory right to receive education through the language of their choice and there shall be a minister belonging to that University to look after their interests in the provincial set of ministers.
11. The following subjects shall be deemed to be of provincial interest localself Government, Panchayat rural development, Co-operatives, Public Health, Veterinary, Education; Primary and Secondary, Libraries, Museums and institutions of like nature, Relief and Rehabilitation, Roads, Works, Lands and Buildings, Bridges, in land water ways, Ferries. Agriculture, Irrigation, Water supply, Electricity, Forests, Protection of wild animals, Birds and fisheries, Mines and minerals development, Inland trade and commerce, Tourism, inland transport, Markets, Fairs, Pilgrimage, Theatre, Cinema, Betting and gambling, Planning and Industries.
12. The following Heads of revenue can be pooled for the provincial administration fund:-
 - a) Land Revenue, Abiana etc.,
 - b) Income from Forests,
 - c) Taxes on the entry of goods into a local area,
 - d) Tax on the consumption of electricity and water supply
 - e) Tax on animals, boats,
 - f) Fines for offences against laws, with respect to matters on the provincial list.

Such an arrangement has several advantages. It:

- 1) Meets to a large extent the demand for regional self-rule. The degree of separation and autonomy can be varied by extending or reducing the list of joint

subjects.

2. It avoids unnecessary overhead expenditure. The creation of two set of ministers will not necessarily mean increase in expenditure. The creation of provincial minister will obviate the necessity of deputy ministers and some inter provincial Heads like the Chief Conservator of Forests, Director General Rural uplift and Tourism etc. etc. The present combined secretariat is already over staffed. It can easily be reorganised and redistributed to suit the arrangement of Two set of ministers.
3. It meets the fears of distinct culture and linguistic minorities without breaking the geographic and natural unity of the area and without encouraging communal and other disruptive tendencies.
4. It maintains the political integrity of the State.
5. Still greater cohesion and uniformity between the working of the two provincial administrations and the centre can be secured by evolving a working convention whereby the senior minister from Kashmir provincial ministers may be allowed to function as the Prime Minister of the State and the Senior provincial minister from Jammu to function as the Deputy Prime Minister in addition to the provincial work allotted to them. Each can represent his provincial Govt. when the National Assembly is in session in the province other than the one which he represents.

The plan suggested may at first sight seem to be cumbersome and unusual. But the detailed arrangements will in fact be secured not by provisions in the Constitution but by rules of business framed and by evolving suitable legislature and executive convenience and precedents. If some particular mode of business is found to be defective it can be altered by altering the relevant rule of business.

of the different constitutions, I am indebted to the Pamphlets on Regional arrangements published by Shri B.N.Rau, the World known Jurist and Constitutionalist.

-X-X-X-X-X-X-X-

6

Pandit Premnath Dogra, President, All Jammu and Kashmir Praja Parishad, has issued the following statement here today:


"In view of somewhat conflicting reports that are appearing in the press in Jammu as well as outside the State, it has become necessary to issue an authoritative version regarding the future line of action of the Praja Parishad."

"There should remain no ambiguity about our grievances and apprehensions arising out of the various policies and programmes of the present party in power and our solutions to the knotty problems confronting our State. They have been clearly explained in the Memorandum that we have recently submitted to the President of India."

"We want complete accession of the whole State with India. But if Kashmir leaders continue to insist on limited accession, we want Jammu to be integrated with India in the manner of other Part B Class States. Again, if any body has doubt about the representative character of the Parishad, we are prepared to get this view ascertained and verified by any recognised democratic method through an agency independent of the Abdullah Government."

"We have every hope that our labours in bringing home the truth of our demands will bear fruit. If, however, unfortunately justice is denied to us, we shall not sit idle. To meet that eventuality preparations are already underway for holding a convention of Praja Parishad within next fortnight that will decide the party's future line of action."

"A word about the possibility of a Quit Jammu struggle. There are elements in the Praja Parishad much disgusted as they are with recent decisions of the Kashmir Constituent Assembly, who do feel that way. I cannot commit Praja Parishad to their view, nor do I know what the mind of the proposed Convention is going to be. It is, however, clear that our demand for the separation of Jammu from Kashmir under certain conditions virtually already does not mean very different from any Quit Jammu movement."

Copy to 

The recent happenings in the state of J&K, culminating in¹ the installation of the Saddar-i-Reasat, at the bidding of the political party whose nominees call themselves "The Constituent Assembly" of the State although they really represent no body, have shocked the conscience of the people. They reveal utter disregard of the feelings, wishes and interests of the people, and also of the repeated warnings of the Praja Parishad.

The sufferings of the people which began with the tribal invasion in 1947 have been aggravated by the inefficiency, corruption, abuse of authority, and bias communal as well as provincial, on the part of the party in power.

That the patience of the people has been exhausted was clearly revealed when they observed a complete voluntary Hartal and hoisted Indian Union Flag on their buildings in Jammu city and out-lying districts on November, 12, 1952, just when the Kashmir Government party flag was unfurled over the state forts and the Saddar-i-Reasat was installed at Srinagar. This spontaneous demonstration amounts to condemnation of the Government policy and vindication of the Praja Parishad stand.

Being anxious and desirous that this resentment should not translate itself into violence, the Praja Parishad is driven to the necessity of directing it along the lines laid down by Mahatma Gandhi Ji in his historic struggle for Indian independence. Unfortunately all constitutional methods of ventilating grievances are denied to the people of the state, because the freedom of press and platform has been completely suppressed and all political activity has been stifled in state. In these circumstances the only weapon available to the oppressed people is that of non-violent "Satyagraha" which has already shaped the destiny of India. We are driven to this step by sheer frustration, because all our protests, representations and warnings have been utterly disregarded during the last five years.

We reiterate for the millionth time that the fundamental and solitary demand of the Praja Parishad is for a full and unqualified accession of the whole state to the Indian Union like other part "B" states. It follows from the basic stand that we are in favour of every step that brings us nearer this objective, and that we are opposed to every measure that leads to the opposite direction. The flying of the Indian Union Flag over buildings in Jammu on November 17, 1952 in preference to the separate Government party flag which was unfurled over the forts on that date, is symbolic of our desire to have complete union with India. A separate flag, a separate President or Sardaar and a separate constitution for our state are steps that will lead us in a direction opposite to that of our objective of complete and unqualified accession. We are found, therefore, to oppose all such measures. We believe that the people of the state are behind us in this desire and that the present trend of Kashmir Government policy is highly dangerous not only for this state but also for the whole of India.

Nothing good and great was ever achieved without sacrifice. With faith in our ideal and enmity towards none, we are willing and prepared to make all necessary sacrifices and to show by our sufferings that we deserve what we desire.

The working Committee of the Praja Parishad has already authorised their President to take whatever action he deems proper and necessary to take in the present emergency for the purpose of achieving our objective. He now appoints and nominates Shree Durga Dass Dass Verma, General Secretary of the Praja Parishad, to organise and carry on the campaign of "Satyagraha" with the direction that violence should be entirely avoided throughout the campaign and that the methods adopted should be legitimate, proper and effectively conducive to the ideal and objective of the Praja Parishad. He will remain in-vested with this responsibility untill otherwise directed by the President or the working committee.

6

Statement by Shree Ram Nath Bhalgotra Advocate General
Secretary All Jammu and Kashmir Praja Parishad.

One constitution one flag and one anthem, these three constitute a "Nation". We, Indians, living in the state firmly believe that for the sake of Unity and Integrity of the Nation, the above principle holds good and should not be deviated from at any cost.

The accession of the J&K State with the Indian Union being complete in all respects, it is but essential that the analogous contingencies should also follow simultaneously. After accession the State becomes an integral part of Bharat and hence the Indian Constitution should be applied in its entirety to the State. Any deviation from the principle encourages the separatist and fissiparous tendencies to cause disruption in the country. These forces are already active in the border areas of the country and the recognition of a separate constitution for the Kashmir State will tempt those forces to become more active and disturb the peace in the country.

It is also in the interest of the State and the people living therein that the Indian constitution should be applied in its entirety to the State. It besides other things ensures to the people living in India.

Justice: Social, Economic, and Political:
liberty of thought expression belief faith and
Equality of Status and opportunity.

It least behoves to any faithful citizen living in India including Kashmir that he will deny any of those rights to the people living in any part of Bharat. We do not understand as to why those who talk of the States accession to India being hundred per cent complete, still contemplate doubts and act upto enacting a separate constitution for the state. This will lead to the loosening the ties of unification of Kashmir with Bharat.

In certain circles there is a tendency to dismiss the demand of the Praja Parishad as a problem for legalistic or academic discussion and to ignore its human aspects, but

those who have raised it are indeed about it. To them it is a matter of life and death and they are determined to put it in it regardless of the sufferings and sacrifices which this course might entail for them.

It is pity that the Central Government have enquired from the proper quarters why this is being made and how far it is justified. On the contrary they have been more responsive to the opposite demand of the National Conference leaders, which is to the effect that this State should have a special privileged status different from that of other Indian States. The wonder is that has never occurred to the otherwise wise and able Central Government that, in the ultimate analysis, both these demands be contradictory in their formulation and intent really spring from similar apprehensions. But the fears of the Kashmiri leaders are wholly baseless, because admittedly they have received the most generous treatment from the Government and the people of India during the last nine years. On the other hand the apprehensions of the Jammu people are fully justified by the experience they have had of the so called popular rule during some period. They have been reduced to the level of political untouchables in their homeland. Their genuine voice has been effectively shut out from the constituent Assembly. The Government formed by the conference party is neither responsible, nor responsive, to Jammu people. The doors of Government services are closed to them, and those already in services are being pushed back. The administration is corrupt and inefficient and it is difficult for common man to obtain redress in the ordinary course. Naturally the Jammu people seek ~~xxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxx~~ protection and redress, which some of the Indian Constitution and some and some organs of the central authority might possibly afford them. But the Kashmiri leaders desire to retain the best of both worlds: They demand autonomy for themselves in relation to the Central authorities of the Indian Union and at the same time they stick to undiluted autocracy in the shape of an unalterable fixed majority in relation to the Jammu people. In fairness they should accord the same treatment to the latter as is demanded

by them for themselves from the India Union. This legitimate demand of the Jammu people is ignored on the flimsy plea that it is confined to reactionary, communalist and vested interest.

The problem that has arisen between Jammu and Kashmir is essentially the same problem as has emerged between the whole State and the Indian Union. And fortunately it is also the problem that the Indian Constitution was devised to solve. Its wise framers were faced with the rival claims of competing elements in the body politic and they arrived at a nice adjustment of those claims in the framework of that Constitution. This nice balance and adjustment makes it eminently fitted to provide a solution of the essentially human problem that faces us in this State. This is a strong reason why a solution of this problem should be attempted by applying the Indian Constitution in its entirety to this State.

Viewed against the above background the unsatisfactory character of the said proposals becomes quite apparent, inasmuch as they disturb the nice balance of adjustments that the Indian Constitution in its entirety was intended to be.

The safeguards afforded in the Indian Constitution are being denied to the people of the State. The Jurisdiction of the Supreme Court Election Commissioner and Auditor General to the State is being purposely avoided. This has definitely raised doubts in the minds of those who advocate for the application of the entire constitution. If the Kashmiri leaders contemplate fears in the Indian Constitution, what safeguards do they hold out to their counterpart in the State. The past experience has given a bad taste and promises still worse in the future. The said provision in the draft State Constitution with regard to the declaration of the organisations opposed to the draft as unlawful is undemocratic and amounts to enslaving the people and the Parliament will not be an idle spectator to it. We appeal to the democratic forces within and without the state to rise to the occasion and see that the danger to the country is averted and the genuine, patriotic demand of the people of the Kashmir state for the application of the Indian Constitution to the state is conceded. We also appeal to the responsible

responsible both within and without the Government quarters in India to appreciate the feelings of the patriotic forces and to be vigilant to the farlial tactics of the disruptionists in the State.

SPECIAL PROVISIONS REGARDING THE STATE OF
JAMMU AND KASHMIR.

221. The State of Jammu and Kashmir acceded to India on October 26, 1947. The form of the Instrument of Accession executed by the Ruler of the state is the same as that of the Instruments executed by the Rulers of other acceding States. Legally and constitutionally therefore the position of this State is the same as that of the other acceding States. The Government of India, no doubt, stand committed to the position that the accession of this State is subject to confirmation by the people of the State. This, however, does not detract from the legal fact of accession. The State has therefore been included in Part B States. In view of the special problem arising in respect of this State and the fact that the Government of India have assured its people that they would themselves finally determine their political future, the following special provision has been made in the Constitution:

370.(1) Notwithstanding anything in this Constitution.

- (a) the provisions of article 238 shall not apply in relation to the State of Jammu and Kashmir;
- (b) the power of Parliament to make laws for the said State shall be limited to -
 - (i) those matters in the Union List and the Concurrent list which, in consultation with the Government of the State, are declared by the President to correspond to matters specified in the Instrument of Accession governing the accession of the State to the Dominion of India as the matters with respect to which the Dominion Legislature may make laws for that State; and
 - (ii) such other matters in the said Lists as, with the concurrence of the Government of the State, the President may by order specify.

K.T.O.

EXPLANATION:- For the purposes of this article, the Govtt. of the State means the person for the time being recognised by the President as the Maharaja of Jammu and Kashmir acting on the advice of the Council of Ministers for the time being in office under the Maharaja's Proclamation dated the fifth day of March, 1948;

- (c) The provision of article I and of this article shall apply in relation to that State;
- (d) Such of the other provisions of this Constitution shall apply in relation to that State subject to such exceptions and modifications as the President may by order specify;

Provided that no such order which relates to the matters specified in the Instrument of Accession of the State referred to in Paragraph (i) of sub-clause (b) shall be issued except in consultation with the Govtt. of the State;

Provided ~~the~~ further that no such order which relates to matters other than those referred to in the last preceding proviso shall be issued except with the concurrence of that Government.

(2) If the concurrence of the Government of the State referred to in paragraph (ii) of sub-clause (b) or in the second proviso to sub-clause (d) of clause (I) be given before the Constituent Assembly for the purpose of framing the Constitution of the State is convened, it shall be placed before such Assembly for such decision as it may take thereon.

(3) Notwithstanding anything in the foregoing provisions of this article the President may, by public notification declare that this article shall cease to be operative or shall be operative only with such exceptions and modifications and from such date as he may specify.

Provided that the recommendation of the Constituent Assembly of the State referred to in clause (2) shall be necessary before the President issues such a notification

The effect of this provision is that the State of Jammu and Kashmir, continues to be a part of India. It is a unit of the Indian Union and Union Parliament will have jurisdiction to make laws for this State on matters specified either in the Instrument of Accession or by later additions with the concurrence of the Government of the State. An order has been issued under Article 370 specifying (1) the matters in respect of which the Parliament may make laws for the Jammu and Kashmir State and (2) the provisions, other than Article I and Article 370, which shall apply to that State (Appendix LVI). Steps will be taken for the purpose of convening a Constituent Assembly which will go into these matters in detail and when it comes to a decision on them, it will make a recommendation to the President who will either abrogate Article 370 or direct that it shall apply with such modifications and exceptions as he may specify.

The effect of this provision is that the State of
Jammu and Kashmir, continues to be a part of India. It
is a unit of the Indian Union and Indian Parliament
will have jurisdiction to make laws for this
State on matters specified either in the Government of
India Act or by later legislation with the concurrence
of the Government of the State. In order to be
issued under Article 370 (1) the matters in
respect of which the Parliament may make laws for the
Jammu and Kashmir State and (2) the provisions, other
than Article I and Article 370, which shall apply to
that State (Article IV). Steps will be taken for the
purpose of converting a Constituent Assembly which will
go into these matters in detail and when it comes to a
decision on them, it will make a recommendation to the
President who will either promulgate Article 370 or direct
that it shall apply with such modifications and
exceptions as he may specify.

The following is the full text of the Statement issued by Shri Purga Dass Verma, General Secretary, All Jammu & Kashmir Praja Parishad on 28.3.52.

My attention has been drawn to the recent statement of Shri Mirza Mohd Afzal Beg in the Kashmir Consenbly that "State of Jammu & Kashmir would be an autonomous Republic within the Indian Union and that the State would have its President as also its own National Assembly" etc., etc.,. While highly disappointing to the elements desirous of speedy integration of the State with Bharat, it has not in the least caused any surprise to the Parishad circle at large. Where-as it confirms our oft repeated doubts regarding this sinister move towards independance of the present rulers of the State: it must serve as an eye opener to the people of ~~Bharat~~ the Indian Republic.

Shri Sheikh Abdullah's and his lieutnants' these ill advised utterances are a timely pointer to prove what is being manipulated behind the screen. The present declaration of Shri Beg to the above effect is only a final release of all that the Kashmir National Conference leaders by virtue of being the unquestionable masters of the State at present, have been contemplating to maintain the Independant status of the State expressed so often by Shri Abdullah himself, though hasitantly and diplomatically.

Evidently this goes against Indias' interests, its integrity and solidarity. This specially priviledged and extraordinary position of rulers of the State, is sure to tempt others to develop the same separatish and independant tendency. The recent statement of His Holiness Shri Kashyp-Bagokla, the head Lama of Ladakh, bears testimony to this apprehension. Every patriotic Indian will be perturbed to note this political drama being staged in the State, at a time, when the internal conditions definitely ill afford encouragement of such unfortunate tendencies among the different cultural zones of the State. Because of these impolitic declarations of the boses of the party-in-power, I see no means to checkmate this frustreted psychology, which if allowed to develop shall ultimately bring disaster for the whole State.

Further what is of more importance is that it shall besides leading to social disintegration, make us perpetual political slaves to this one party dictatorship and shall withhold our economic emancipation

The people rightly feel that their ultimate salvation lies in the application of Indian Constitution, as at present there exists no liberty of press and platform, and mass detentions simply of political

differences, without trials characterise the present set-up in the State. Judiciary merely serves a routine constituent of State-hierarchy and is under complete control of the all-powerful executive. Thus the proposed autonomous Republican set-up within Indian Union, shall further go on crushing the poverty stricken people of the State under the heavy toll of Customs duty.

In view of all these factors Parishad's stand of complete and unconditional accession of the State with India and the removal of discriminatory Section 370A from the Indian Constitution represents the inner feeling of the entire State. We are of the opinion that it shall not only make the people of the State one with India, but shall also provide them with opportunities for progress on equal footing with their Indian brethren. The fact that this very pro-Indian stand of the Parishad has been responsible for the disrepute it has accumulated from the interested elements within and without the State, represents an unprecedented historical irony. All the insinuations, insults and humiliations are being suffered by it, as it stands by India, for India and with India.

Now when Shri Beg has laid true cards before the public eye, we hope it shall help the Indian masses to read the true implications and complications of issue and thus afford them an opportunity to rise to the occasion.

As stated often, Praja Parishad is ^{the} most dependable unit in the State. It is prepared to shed its last drop of blood to achieve its objective of application of Indian Constitution in the State, which is knowingly obscure to Shri Abdullah. The charges of communalism, sectarianism, provincialism etc., are themselves ~~believed~~ ^{belied} by the fact that the Parishad stands for the most secular Constitution of India. It is too simple to ^{need} ~~view~~ any further clarification or comment.

The hostile attitude specially of the English Press of Bharat towards Praja Parishad is unfortunate in as much as it is unconsciously cutting at the very roots of Indian unity and solidarity and of oneness of policies and programmes. The cold welcome with which the Parishad is received or is made to be received would rather jeopardise Indian interests, which Parishad endeavours to safeguard not caring even for ~~elements~~ extinction.

I hope that the said statement by the Hon'ble Revenue Minister State Constituent Assembly would serve its useful purpose by

giving a strong jerk to those who are complascent about the
ashmir's affairs and let them think seriously about this emerging
headache to the Indian Republic.

Jai Bharat

Sd/- DURGA DASS VERMA.
GENERAL SECRETARY,
ALL JAMMU & KASHMIR PRAJA PARISHAD
JAMMU.

Copy of the above forwarded to _____

_____ for
favour of publication.

OFFICE SECRETARY,
ALL JAMMU AND KASHMIR PRAJA PARISHAD.
JAMMU.

1. Constituent Assembly should pass a resolution for complete accession and application of Indian Constitution to the State.
- ✓ 2. Delhi Pact to be implemented as early as possible. Jurisdiction of the Supreme Court.
3. Abolition of Custom duties.
4. Financial Integration.
5. Abolition of Permit system.
6. Enquiry into the circumstances leading to the death of Dr. S.P. Mukerjee.
7. Five year plan for the State. ?
8. Jammu Province to share equally in the Five Year Development Plan, and its implementation with our consultation.
9. Representation in the Parliament and Re-election in the State. At least by- elections for Jammu Province.
10. Abolition of Revenue Boards- Corrupt and incapable partisans administering Justice.
11. Praja Parishad must be taken into confidence in every matter to avoid controversies and contradictions and to inspire confidence and co-operative.
12. Police and Magistracy should be independent and impartial and free from undue influence of the Political Parties espacially the party in Power.
13. Judiciary needs to be pulled to move more swiftly because justice delayed is justice denied. Present state of affairs causing greatest inconvenience to the seekers of justice. Cases pending for years to-gether in differen courts.

1952

PROBLEMS CONCERNING AGITATION.

1. The cases pending against Parishad workers should be withdrawn forthwith irrespective of the fact whether they pertain to alleged violence or not.
2. Appeals pending in Sessions Court-- Orders remitting sentences and fines to be passed.
3. Attached properties sold or lying in the Police Thanas to be released. Properties auctioned to be restored to their owners.
4. Fines realized to be refunded and losses to be compensated.
5. Compensation to all Political sufferers including bereaved families of those killed in the firings and also those injured and rendered incapable to earn.
6. All persons suspended, transferred, degraded and whose increments stopped, resignations accepted, should be restored to their actual positions Numberdars suspended during agitation to be re-instated.
7. Disqualifications both in elections or services due to convictions in agitation should be removed.
8. All licenses cancelled to be restored, arms, transport, cloth,
9. An enquiry commission with a Judge of Some Indian High Court to enquire into cases of excesses- loot corruption and rape.

1. Panchayat system for the fair and cheap Justice be introduced. Village Numberdars and Zaildars to be elected.
2. Revenue Boards to be abolished immediately as men of ability and experience and that of representative character have not been included in them.
3. People settled on boulder areas to be given sufficient number of rifles and ammunition. Those who have been deprived of such rifles should be again supplied to protect their kith, kin and cattle.
4. Water tax to be reduced. Water works Machinery and Electric plants to be replaced by new machinery.
5. Irrigation tax which was increased 500 times in some cases and doubled in other cases by Abdullah Regime be brought to the previous level.
6. Another B.T College to be established in Jammu. This was originally started in Jammu College but later shifted to Srinagar without any justification.
7. Infiltration to be stopped once for ever.
8. Colleges in the District Towns like Kathua, Rajouri and Udhampur to be opened. One more should be started in Jammu.
9. Services, Scholarships for higher studies to be given on merit. Public service Commission to be established. Recruitment on consideration other than merit to be stopped.
10. Arms and ammunition distributed by Col. Adalat Khan Military Administrative in Doda District to Muslims to be taken back as it is not boulder area.
11. REFUGEES.
 - a. All women and children still in the hands of the enemy (Pakistan) be recovered. Speed so far adopted to be doubled to remove constant heart burning. Government level pressure to be exercised.
 - b. All refugees to be registered. Their claims to be scrutinized as has been done in India. They should be duly compensated and till that happens no rent be charged from them for the Evacuee Property in their possession.
 - c. Widows and orphans to be educated. Works for them in the Work Centres to be provided to enable them to live an honourable life.
 - d. Invalid, old and destitutes to be given cash doles and rations for the life time.
 - e. Non- Liberated area people to be rehabilitated in colonies and liberated area people to be given loans for constructions of their houses and for re-starting their lives.
 - f. Jammu District border area people other than agriculturist be given arms and ammunition.

THIS Convention of the Jammu and Kashmir Praja Parishad deplores Shri Nehru Ji's statement concerning Kashmir, not merely because it ignores the true background of the situation, but also because it amounts to virtual surrender to the Separatist designs of the Abdullah party in Kashmir and utter disregard of the wishes of the people of Jammu and Ladakh as also of a ^{whole} ~~consideration~~ section of the people of Kashmir Valley.

The reference in the statement to the geographical significance of the State amounts to a misinterpretation of the facts of history and geography. Kashmir Valley and Jammu have all through the ages been integral parts of India geographically, historically, culturally as also economically.

The description of National Conference party of Kashmir as an off-shoot of the Indian National Congress and as one guided by the ideals and objectives of Gandhiji is fallacious and misleading in so much as the former began as "Muslim Conference" drawing inspirations from the stalwarts of Muslim League till 1939 when it converted itself into National Conference. Even as National Conference it has remained mainly the Organisation of the Kashmir Valley.

The acceptance of Sh: Abdullah's demand for making his party flag as the State flag is indefensible and wholly unwise, because there can be only one flag in one country as the symbol of its unity and integrity. To describe the National Conference flag as symbol of the State people's political struggle is no argument for elevating it to the position of a State flag. If Kashmir is a constituent unit of India like any other, it cannot adopt any flag other than the Indian flag. Moreover the people of Jammu have a strong sentiment against this flag. The other major demand regarding abolition of hereditary rule has been conceded. This Convention feels that the

policy of singling out the Maharaja of Kashmir, who is only a constitutional head now, to appease Sh. Abdullah is impolitic and smacks of vindictiveness.

While these demands of Abdullah Government to weaken the ties that bind India and Kashmir have been accepted, the popular demands for full application of the Indian Constitution to the State, particularly in respect of citizenship, fundamental rights, Supreme Court and financial integration have not been met. The agreement is either very vague in these matters, or has taken away in the shape of exceptions what it seems to concede as a principle, for example; while conceding in one breath that citizenship should be common, in an other breath the State Govt. has been given the power to maintain invidious distinctions between different classes of the permanent residents of the State and of curtail the rights and privileges of other Indian citizens. Thus the Kashmir Govt. will be competent to bar the Indian Nationals from acquiring property or enjoying equal right in the State. This tantamounts to having a dual citizenship, which will militate against the unity of India and like the dual flag, might create a dangerous precedent for other States. The ulterior motives underlying these decisions are political and not social as has been alleged in some quarters.

The special provision that has been made to allow those people of the State who have gone to Pakistan to come back and regain citizenship of the State though appearing harmless on the face of it, has a dangerous import. So far, most of the Hindu evacuees from the Azad Kashmir areas have been denied the opportunities to settle within the State while those who had migrated to Pakistan and adopted Pakistani nationality are being encouraged and provided with facilities to come back and settle in the State. Even utter foreigners like Kazaks ~~may~~

from Central Asia, who happen to be muslims and could not, under the State laws, settle in the State have been given full naturalisation rights to settle in the Kashmir Valley. It is feared that steps might continue to be taken which might disturb drastically the present social and religious composition of the State population. This Convention, therefore, urges upon the Government of India to see that Hindu Evacuees who are being sent to far off places outside the State like Bhopal and Bikaner are settled within the State. Those who have already settled in the State must not be dispossessed and uprooted again to resettle returning muslims from Pakistan controlled areas. Unless and until the nonliberated areas of the State are liberated, muslims from Azad Kashmir and Pakistan should not be allowed to come. Even in regard to the fundamental rights two special reservations have been made, one concerning to land legislation and the other concerning the present "abnormal conditions" obtaining in the State". With regard to the first reservation the Convention feels that if this represents the considered policy of the Govt of India the Indian Constitution should be amended accordingly and the Kashmir example adopted for the whole of India. In the reverse case the Kashmir Government should not be permitted to act in contravention of the Indian Constitution so flagrantly.

In regard to Supreme Court, the Kashmir Govt., while accepting in principle its jurisdiction over Kashmir, has postponed the final decision on the plea of working out the details. The vital question of financial integration has also been left over for further consideration. Even the powers of the President of India to declare emergency in case of internal disturbances has been made subject to the concurrence of the Govt. of the State. All this, the Convention feels, reduces the scope and utility of the Concessions made by the State Government, as is apparent from the recent speeches made by Sheikh Mohammad Abdullah

and Mirza Mohd Afzal Beg. Sheikh Abdullah has got all that he wanted, and the Agreement can hardly make the State people feel that they are a part and parcel of India. Even in regard to the three subjects of defence, foreign affairs and communications the State has not yet acceded fully in practice, as a number of subjects coming under these heads, viz Radio, Telegraph and Telephone etc., according to Government of India's own admission vide answers in Parliament have not yet come under the control of the Centre.

This Convention is, therefore, convinced that the present Government of Jammu and Kashmir is trying to restrict the accession of the State to minimum possible limits in order to serve the vested interests of those in power, to the detriment of the larger interests of the people of the State as also of India. It condemns this attitude of the State Government as basically communal and parochial which is bound to aggravate centrifugal forces within the State and without it. This Convention therefore is of the opinion that the Nehru-Abdullah Agreement has not altered the situation to such extent as to warrant any change in the stand taken up by the Praja Parishad in its President's Memorandum to the Rashtrapati. The Conference reiterates that stand and demands that:-

1. The Muslims from Azad Kashmir Pakistan should not be allowed to return and settle in the State until and unless the nonliberated areas are liberated and non muslims refugees from those areas are able to return to and settle in their ancestral homes.
2. The Hindu and Sikh refugees who have already settled here should not be dislodged and those still unsettled outside the State should be properly rehabilitated in the State.
3. Pending that, the part of the State lying on Indian side of the Cease Fire Line should be fully integrated

One hundred and fifty seven Praja Parishad satyagrahies were released from Srinagar jail on 1st of August at 7 P.M. Seven satyagrahies in that jail have not yet been released. They have been ~~sing~~ singled out because they protested against some derogatory remarks against the Parishad and its leaders by the Deputy Superintendent of the jail. Prominent among those released are Shree Shyam Lal Sharma Organizing Secretary Jammu and Kashmir Praja Parishad, Thadur Raghunath Singh Samyal, the famous Dogra poet and Shri Mulk Raj Advocate of Samba.

✓ The released satyagrahies were sent to Jammu on the State transport buses without any police escort. At Dalgate an organized attack with stones and acid bottles was made on the buses carrying satyagrahies by big mob which had been collected there. As a result more than a dozen satyagrahies received injuries. This news has created great resentment in Jammu. The satyagrahies were also not given bus fare for their their respective home places. The satyagrahies on their arrival in Jammu were received by Pt. Prem Nath Dogra and a large number of other Parishad workers and citizens of Jammu at the Ambphala Octroi Post.

It is learnt from the satyagrahies that they were badly mal-treated in jail. A number of them were mercilessly beaten just on the eve of their release.

The General Secretary of the Parishad has sent telegram protesting against this treatment to released satyagrahies to Pt. Nehru, Dr. Katju and Sheikh Abdullah and Bakshi Gulam Mohamed.

Publicity Secretary,
All Jammu and Kashmir Praja Parishad
Jammu.

19 June 1952

To

1. Shree Dr., Rajendra Prasad Ji,
Rashttrapati, Indian Union,
2. Shree Jawaharlal Ji Nehru,
The Hon'ble Prime Minister,
Indian Union,
3. Dr. Kailash Nath Katju,
The Hon'ble States Minister,
Indian Union.

NEW DELHI.

MAY IT PLEASE YOUR EXCELLENCY,

THE future of the Jammu and Kashmir State, particularly its relationship with India is a matter of vital and paramount importance to the people of the State. The people of Jammu are particularly anxious to ensure that their State becomes firmly and finally a permanent Unit of the Indian Union and are prepared to pay any price for it.

It was this anxiety to be one with the rest of India that induced the people of Jammu to offer their fullest cooperation to the Kashmir National Conference when powers of day to day administration were transferred to it by the Maharaja at the behest of the Government of India. This was done in the hope, that the leaders of the National Conference would overcome their past prejudices against the Dogras of Jammu and carry the whole people of the State with them to achieve the common goal of full accession to India.

But unfortunately Sheikh Abdullah's Government not only failed to appreciate this cooperative spirit but even mistook it for a sign of weakness and adopted a policy of systematic deliberate discrimination and repression against the people of Jammu Province generally and their representative body the Praja Parishad particularly. This ^{repressive} representative and discriminatory policy extends to all spheres of political, economic and cultural life of the people and even amounts

(Amounts) to interference in their religious life.

4. In the first place the civil liberties of the people of Jammu, their freedom of speech and their right to participate in formulating and if necessary of criticising Government policies particularly those relating to the relationship of the State with India in a constitutional manner, have been completely denied and effectively curbed by frequent arbitrary use of Section 50 of the Defence of Kashmir Rules, and the Public Security Act. Not content with this wholesale suppression, Abdullah's Government has started a regular campaign of harassment of the people by initiating general censorship of press post and telegram and introducing measures whereby the relatives of the Praja Parishad people are made liable to lose their appointments and pensions. There are cases where such steps have already been taken. As a result, the voice of the people, who are dissatisfied with the present policy of limited accession and want closer and complete union with India, has been completely gagged. Newspapers that dare criticise the Govt. have been suppressed and silenced. The Indian Newspapers that happened to be sympathetically critical of the policies pursued by the Kashmir Govt. have been banned in the State. The President of the Praja Parishad and his co-workers have been repeatedly arrested and detained without trial for long periods. Recently, in February, this year, the Students' Agitation against the use of the Party Flag at a public function in place of the State Flag was made an excuse to adopt repressive measures against the Praja Parishad and a veritable reign of terror was let loose on the people of Jammu. A number of its prominent workers were expelled from the State. This has made the condition of the people much worse than it was even under the old autocratic regime. The people of Jammu and Kashmir have no fundamental rights and cannot approach even the Supreme Court of India for protection.

5. In the educational sphere systematic effort has been made during all these years to break the linguistic and cultural ties that bind the State with the rest of India. Hindi occupied an equal place with Urdu in the educational life of the State before accession. Now it has been completely relegated to the background. Urdu has been made the official language of the State and the medium of instruction in the Schools. Even the Text Books meant for girls are full of difficult Persian and Arabic words which even the Teachers do not understand. Urdu has been made a compulsory subject for the Matriculation Examination. A sense of Kashmiri Nationalism, as distinct from Indian Nationalism, is sought to be created through the books prescribed for the school going children.

6. Among the seven men who constitute Text Book Committee of the State, there is not a single person belonging to Jammu or to the minority community.

7. A separate University for the few Colleges of the State has been established entailing heavy burden on the State Exchequer only to cut off the educational and cultural ties which a common University created between the students of the State and of India. Even the Examination papers are set with the object of creating anti-Dogra feeling in the examinees as will be clear from a perusal of English Paper B, for the Intermediate Examination 1952 of the J&K University.

8. In the administrative sphere, the Party interests have been carefully nursed at the expense of merit, fair-play and the wider interests of the State. Recruitment to the services used to be made through open competition or on merit and seniority during the Maharaja's Regime. Now, the only qualification for winning or retaining a public office is party affiliation. Almost all the key-posts are held by men from the Kashmir Province. Sheikh Abdullah has publicly declared that he wants the party and the

(the) Government to be managed entirely by the same personnel, ignoring that this practice is followed in totalitarian States. Communalism, against which Sheikh Abdullah is fond of talking so loudly, is being practised so extensively in the State Administration that notices advertising vacancies of Govt. posts sometimes clearly say that "only Mohammadans need apply".

9. The men in power in the State, judged from the policies they have been pursuing, seem to be determined to make the people of the State feel that they are being ruled from Srinagar. The Training College, which was started by the Maharaja's Govt. in Jammu, has been shifted to Srinagar, the Tosha-Khana, which contained all the valuables and curios of the State along with manuscripts lying in the Jammu Library, have also been carried to Srinagar. It was planned to shift the State Press also from Jammu to Srinagar, but this has been postponed for the time being as the result of Public protest. Jammu enjoyed the status of a separate Province with a separate Governor during the old regime. Now the separate entity of Jammu Province has been destroyed by abolishing the Governorship and lumping together the Districts of Jammu and Kashmir under one Commissioner.

10. The territorial limits of the various administrative units of the Jammu Province have been altered with a view to the eventual partition of the Province into Hindu and Muslim Zones so that the Muslims may be in a position to act at the critical time to the detriment of India. The Udhampur District ~~is~~ which had a clear Hindu majority and acted as direct link between Jammu and Ladakh, has been split up into two Units. Its Northern areas like Bhaderwah, Kishtwar and Ramban, which contain most of the mineral and forest wealth of the State have been constituted into a separate Muslim majority district of Doda, which is intended eventually to be amalgamated with Kashmir. The minorities in the zone are being harassed and threatened

(and threatened) to leave, the illegal provocative speeches are being delivered by the National Conference leaders in the very presence of the police without any action being taken. Arms and ammunition is being manufactured and supplied to the members of the majority community. This district besides destroying the natural cohesion of the Jammu Province has become a wedge separating Jammu from Ladakh. Similarly, Reasi district was split up and a new District of Rajouri-Poonch created. The Tehsil of Reasi with a preponderant population of Hindus was joined with Udhampur and the remaining portion of Reasi District i.e. the Tehsil of Rajouri was joined with Muslim majority areas of Poonch. Further, with a view to extend this newly created District of Rajouri Poonch a portion of Reasi Tehsil in the West of River Chenab and certain Northern Patwars of Akhnour Tehsil, which are predominantly Hindu areas are being separated to form a new Niabat of Sunderbani.

11. The motive underlying these measures becomes clear when we keep in view the treatment meted out to the thousands of Hindu and Sikh refugees, who emigrated from the Pakistan held territories of the State. They want to settle in the State. There is enough room to settle them all. In Jammu District alone 7,04,914 kanals of evacuee land is available for settlement. But instead of allotting that land to the refugees it has been given to favourites on payment of five times the annual land revenue which amount is being credited to Muslim evacuees fund. The Govt. of India all this time has been spending crores of rupees on feeding these refugees, who are now being sent out to distant places like Bikaner and Bhopal against their wishes.

12. The law defining the term "State subject" is being so interpreted as to prevent people of Indian domicile from settling in the State. But when it comes to Kazaks from Turkistan, all these Laws are put aside and they have been given full naturalisation rights to settle in Kashmir Valley. Similarly, sons of Pakistanis have been allowed

(allowed) to infiltrate into the State during the last four years. They have been helped to settle down in the State.

13. The economic condition of the people of the State, particularly in Jammu and Ladakh, has greatly deteriorated during the last four and a half years. New taxes have been imposed and the existing ones enhanced from two to five times with the result, that their burden has become almost unbearable considering that the average income is about one half of that in the rest of India and the burden of taxation considerably much more. The Govt. control over the Transport and distribution of all articles of necessity is telling heavily on the people. The burden of exorbitant Customs duties continues to shatter our economy. A thing worth rupee one at Pathankot costs us between 37% to 50 % above that price in the State. Within the State, Govt. monopolies have replaced private enterprise to the detriment of the consumer. The charges for transport of commodities to different parts of the State fixed by the Govt. are much higher than the rates charged by the Private transporters. The scope for Private Transport has been practically eliminated by the establishment of the Government Transport Deptt. There is no free competition. Petrol which is rationed throughout India is controlled in the State. This has not benefitted the people at all except perhaps a few families of the ruling party.

14. The people of Jammu foresaw the dangerous results of the Government policies quite early. The President of the Praja Parishad, brought these apprehensions and grievances also to the notice of the Government of India. We have undergone all this suffering in the hope that it will end with the complete accession of the State to India, when we will have all the benefits of Indian citizenship including the protection of fundamental rights which is guaranteed by the Indian Constitution. But that hope has now begun to change into despair. When the elections to the Constituent

(Constituent) Assembly for the State were ordered last year, we were given to understand that the Constituent Assembly would ratify the accession of the State to India. We, therefore, prepared ourselves to take part in the elections. But to our great disappointment, 41 out of 59 nomination papers of the Praja Parishad nominees were rejected on flimsy grounds and conditions were created through official pressure which made fair elections impossible. I appealed to Sheikh Abdullah as also to the Government of India to hold an independent judicial inquiry into the wholesale rejection of nomination papers of the Praja Parishad candidates and prevent Government servants from abusing their authority by helping actively the National Conference candidates, so that the fears of the people regarding partiality of the elections may be allayed. But no heed was paid to our requests with the result that the Praja Parishad was forced to boycott the elections under protest. The Constituent Assembly is clearly a packed body and consists of the nominees of single party. It is not a sovereign body. It does not represent the people of the State at all. The people of Jammu have no voice in it. Moreover, the representatives of the State in Indian Parliament are all nominees of this Constituent Assembly. Thus we have no representation in the Indian Parliament either.

15. The announcement made by Mirza Afzal Beg, a member of the Basic Principles Committee of the Kashmir Constituent Assembly, that Kashmir would be an autonomous Republic within the Indian Republic with a separate National Assembly President and judiciary and the subsequent speeches of Sheikh Abdullah have made it clear that National Conference wants a very loose relationship with India and not full accession like other Part B States. So our hope that redress will come to us through the application of the Indian Constitution in its entirety to the State has been

(State has been) dashed to the ground. Our very existence as a self-respecting section of the Indian people is now in danger.

16. Further more the recent vital decisions made by the Constituent Assembly, regarding State Flag and termination of the Ruling Dynasty, have caused deep resentment throughout the State and particularly in the Province of Jammu. From this, it is evident that the things in the State are drifting towards the creation of an Independent Republic.

17. The whole sale condemnation of the heroes and founders of the State have greatly wounded the feelings of the people of the Jammu Province which indicates that the people of the Jammu Province in general are looked upon by the party in power with contempt.

18. These circumstances have forced us to approach your honour with the request which may look drastic but which is the only alternative now left to us. Leaving out of consideration for the moment those parts of the State which are now under the illegal occupation of Pakistan, the India held territory of the State is made up of three distinct regions namely, Jammu, Ladakh and Kashmir Valley.

19. The people of each of these regions, are a distinct people with a distinct language, culture and history and a definite territory. The Jammu region lies south of the Pir-panchal Range as far as the Cease Fire Line at Suchetgarh, and between Ravi and Jhelum Rivers in the East and West, and includes Doda and Padar areas. This Unit forms the core round which Maharaja Gulab singh wove the present fabric of Jammu and Kashmir State.

20. We of Jammu claim the right to determine our future ourselves. Had Kashmir Valley, the most populous region, held with us the view that the State should accede to India as one of its integral part like other part B States, we need not have made this demand. But now that we find that the State Constituent Assembly is taking decisions

(decisions) for the entire State in matters of ~~our~~ fundamental importance to our future existence which run counter to our declared wishes and are detrimental to ~~our~~ interests and those of INDIA AS A WHOLE, we are constrained to approach you for the protection of our legitimate rights and interests. And whatever may be the views of the other regions of the State about their accession to India being limited only to a certain number of subjects, we of Jammu Province desire that we shall be united and integrated with India in the same manner as other Part B States have been. We claim that the people of Jammu Province hold this view and that if necessary this can be ascertained and verified by any recognised democratic method through an agency independent of the present Kashmir Government. We are glad to note from the speeches of Shre Kaushak Bakola that Ladakh holds similar views and demands similar rights for that region. Sheikh Abdullah is also reported to have said in one of his speeches " If Jammu and Ladakh so desire, they can decide to integrate with India and leave Kashmir Valley free to have limited accession".

21. Being the descendants of those, who sacrificed their blood and resources to build up this great and integrated State, it was our desire, that the entire State including those parts which are still held by Pakistan should form like other Part B States an integral part of the Republic of India. To bring about that consolidation we are prepared, like our ancestors willingly and cheerfully to make the greatest sacrifices including that of life to reconquer for India what rightfully belongs to her and us. But till that happens, we cannot agree with Sheikh Abdullah that like Kashmir Valley, we also should accede to our own MOTHERLAND with reservations.

22. Permit us in the end to request you to judge us and this our demand as coming from a people, who have always been and shall always remain Indian. That is our greatest

(greatest) pride. Imagine for a moment any other part of India whether in the East, West or South placed in that awkward predicament in which we are and then you will probably agree that the same demand would have been made by the people of that region. As children of India, it is but natural that we should resist any move to keep us away from our Motherland in howsoever a small degree. As it is attempted to keep us substantially out of India, we, therefore, want to make it clear that we shall not accept any such position. We want the entire Constitution of India to apply to Jammu. We want to have the protection of the Supreme Court, we want to enjoy the fundamental rights as all Indians do, we want the same Flag as is allowed to Part B States and not the Red Flag now selected by Sheikh Abdullah and we want to be governed by the laws of the Indian Legislature. That way lies the future of Jammu and we feel it our patriotic duty to resist with all the strength at our command attempts from whatever quarter made to thwart the full accession of Jammu with India.

Yours faithfully,

Prem Nath Dogra
(PREM NATH DOGRA)

President,

Dated Jammu, All J & K Praja Parishad Hqs. Jammu.
the 7th June '52.

office copy

copy forwarded to

Shree Gopalaswamy Ayyangar Defence Minister

7c
6th Feb. 1953.

The denial statement of the Kashmir Government regarding its attempt to carve out predominantly Muslim zones out of the areas which were overwhelmingly non-muslim in Jammu Province published in the "Hindu" dated 6th Feb. 1953, page 7 column 4, is nothing but prostitution of the facts. Their reason that the boundaries of some districts have been adjusted "as a result of 31,251 Square Miles of the state territory having been over-run by the enemy upto the end of the period" is far from truth ^{and not convincing.} A casual study of the map enclosed herewith would clearly show what the Kashmir Government has so far done and what it further intends to do.

Immediately after the assumption of the power the present Government transferred 18 villages of Ramban Tehsil (District Udhampur) falling on the valley side of the Peer Panjal to Anantnag District. These both districts had not been effected by the enemy raiders at all. Similarly some villages of Reasi District were joined with Anantnag District. Not satisfied with that in Baisakh 2005 (April, 1948) one month after taking of the oath by the present interim Ministry the Government split Udhampur District with 1,65,000 Hindus and 1,28,000 Muslims population into two districts and created a new district of Doda with the three tehsils of Ramban, Kishwar and Bhadarwah with a population and of 1,09,000 muslims and 77,000 Hindus leaving behind Udhampur District with two tehsils of Udhampur and Ramnagar with a population of 68,000 Hindus and 20,000 Muslims. Thus old district of Udhampur, which was not raided by the enemy was divided into Muslim and non-Muslim zones and this division facilitated Sir Owen Dixon to include "some adjacent territories" along with Kashmir valley for Plebiscite purposes. And is it not in the draft constitution of the Kashmir Government to divide the state into four commissionerates of Ladakh, Jammu (Excluding Doda) and

6th Feb. 1953.

(Page-2-)

and Rajouri Poonch), Kashmir valley (including Doda), and Rajouri Poonch? It would be interesting to note that Peer Panjal 10,000 feet high mountain near Banihal and at some places still higher separates valley from Doda District and remains unsurpassable for six months a year and all the necessary supplies of this new districts are imported from Jammu.

Reasi District had two ^{of} tehsils Reasi and Rajouri. The new regime has tagged Rajouri with Poonch and joined the Niatat of Naushehra with it and thus created a new district of Rajouri and Poonch in which two lacs Muslims from across the cease fire line came after 1949 and have been rehabilitated there. ^{has} This ~~is~~ also ^{been} *converted into* a Muslim majority zone. ^{adjustment of boundaries.} This fact of infiltration was disclosed by Sheikh Sahib in his statement in the Indian Parliament on 5th March, 1952. It was due to this unchecked policy of infiltration of the Kashmir Government that a District Magistrate of Rajouri Mr. Trilochan Dutt, who belonged to National Conference and who was erstwhile a private tutor and became a District Magistrate through the good wishes of the party bosses, resigned as a protest against it. Then the remaining position of Reasi District i.e. Reasi Tehsil was joined with Udhampur District making it a predominantly Hindu majority District. The re-adjustment of the District in the valley has not been materially effected. Only a new district of Srinagar city has been created and the reconquered parts of Muzafarabad District have been joined to Baramula District. The Hindu Sikh refugees of Muzafarabad and Baramula Districts have been refused to be rehabilitated in the Kashmir Valley. These Districts formed part of the valley and these refugees had a right to be rehabilitated in the valley. They demanded as such but were refused and ^{they have been forcibly rehabilitated on the} borders of Jammu without giving them any arms to defend themselves. This, in short, is the 'SECULAR' policy and P. T. O.

1 - 10 - 1962

CENTRAL OFFICE
J & K RAJA PARISHAD JAMMU

Democracy Sabotaged in Kashmir !!!

By killing democracy in J & K how a handle is being provided by the State ruling men to the enemies to beat India, can be well gauged from the following:

After the change over of power from Maharaja to the National Conference first general elections were held in the State in 1951. There were only two contesting parties - National Conference - the party in power and Praja Parishad - only opposing party. Forty six out of seventy nomination papers of the Praja Parishad candidates were rejected summarily on flimsy grounds and those that were accepted were for 14 constituencies only. Representations were made and assurances were sought from the Govt. for fair and impartial poll in the remaining 14 constituencies; but having failed to get the same and for the circumstances created by the men in power, the Praja Parishad was forced to boycott the election. The Assembly thus constituted was a packed house of underlings of the National Conference leaders.

The same tactics were employed in the 2nd General Elections in 1957 with little modification. Besides using the old tactics of rejection of nomination papers of the Opposition candidates, the boxes were tampered with frequently. In spite of all this the Praja Parishad captured 5 seats and one went to the Harijan Mandal.

As a sequel to the highhandedness perpetrated in these elections 20 election petitions were filed affecting 24 constituencies in the year 1957. A one man Election Tribunal was appointed to hear all these election petitions. The place for trial was fixed at Srinagar 200 to 300 Miles from the concerned constituencies. The proceedings of these were allowed to dangle on and continued till the 3rd Genl Elections.

The story of the 3rd General Elections is no less painful though these were held for the 1st time under the supervision of the Union Election Commission. A concerted effort was made to repeat the old tactics with great mischief and technique and thus minimise the importance of the Union Election Commission whose jurisdiction was extended to this State after a strenuous struggle of the Praja Parishad. In spite of repeated requests the Polling was held in the month of February which was not at all suitable sea-son for hilly areas of Jammu Province. At most of the stations it was heavily snowing and raining as usual. The voters had not only to face the bad weather but they had also to travel on foot in these mountaneous areas from 10 to 15 miles. The extent of bogus polling in favour of ruling party candidates by the concerned officials can be well judged from the fact that even in the hilly areas at many polling stations polling has been shown 95 to 100 % . The overall average has been recorded 70 to 85 percent. In contrast we refer to polling in Himachal Pradesh, a hilly tract adjoining Doda District of the Jammu Province. In Himachal Polling was held in the month of May when the climatic conditions were very favoura-ble but the overall polling could not exceed 25 to 30 % while in Doda District it was shown above 75 %. This brings into light the extent of bogus polling.

A further glimpse into the democratic way of life can be gained from the following facts. .

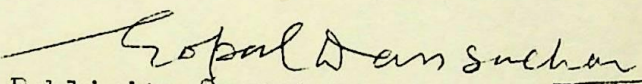
There are 3 municipalities in the whole State - Srinagar - Jammu and Poonch. In Srinagar and Jammu cities the Municipal councils were superseded about 4 years back and Administra-tors were appointed and they were continuing uptil now. In Poonch elections were held in 1939. About three years ago, instead of holding the election, the Govt. nominated all the 15 members of the Municipal council including the Chairman.

Similar are the conditions of the Town Area Committees. There are 29 T.A. Committees in the State. Elections to all of them are overdue for long . In most cases committees were disbanded and administrators have been appointed for the last several years. Nine committees that were controlled by

Praja Parishad were dismissed without any charge or proper enquiry. It is interesting to note that out of ten member committees of Udhampur Town, six members have resigned for the last six years. Two members have left Udhampur. But the Committee with only two members is allowed to function because the Chairman had joined the National Conference.

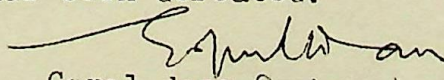
The conditions in the Panchayats are no less worse where Govt. have retained powers to nominate five members in 11 members Panchayat - persons who are defeated in the elections are nominated as Panches and there are many cases in which the nominated persons have been installed as Sarpanches.

This all creates a bad name for India.


Publicity Secretary,
J&K Praja Parishad,
Jammu.

Dated 1.10.1962

Four years ago the State joined the Central I.A.S. Scheme. The State officers taken in the I.A.S. (without adopting the proper procedure of selection) got their pays doubled but the wonder is that these officers are not being transferred from here, though in the light of deteriorating law and order conditions in the State it was in the best interest of the State to get I.A.S. officers from outside to man state cadres like Dy Commissioners and Secretaries and depute its I.A.S. officers outside the State so they could acquire the experience of wider field and learn working of some of ~~known~~ the newly started activities. But by not transferring these officers the entire purpose of integration has been defeated.


Gopal Dass Sachar)
Publicity Secretary,
Praja Parishad,
Jammu

Dated 1.10.1962

The Editor,
The Tribune,
Amballa Cant.

Dear Sir, Your Editorial in defence of Sheikh Abdulla's Appeal published in your paper dated 21-4-53 is at once informative and suggestive. It shows that you yourself are not sure about the correctness of the stand taken by Sheikh Abdulla Government for accession of the State 'for a limited number of the subjects'. And at the same time the argument advanced is not understandable. The flexibility to be adopted in the Constitution by conventions will even to yourself its horrible results. Such flexibility principle will lead to the fragmentation of the country which will not be feasible both from economic and administrative point of view.

You have supported the 'Gratuitous' grant of Sheikh Abdulla of autonomy to 'Cultural Units'. What is culture? Has a Nation different cultures? Or is India a land of different Nations. Nation has always only one culture. The cultural division of the state is the acceptance of the principle of the state being composite of different Nations. This splitting of the State into different so called cultural units will not be a sound solution of the problem and will not end the present political impasse but will lead to further troubles more harmful to the cause of the country than it is intended to remedy.

Unfortunately the practice of calling names or attributing motives to those who honestly differ from the view point of the party in power has become a universal rule in the country. The Indian Prime Minister does not spare any opportunity let go than he should not ~~expose~~ abuse his political opponents. In the same tone you too accuse that the Praja Parishad leaders are clearly asking for the application of the two nation theory to the state is directly or indirectly pressing for the partition of the State

Jammu and Kashmir

It displays that either the ~~facts~~ ~~are~~ ~~not~~ ~~understood~~ or it is deliberately ~~real~~ ~~issue~~.

The Indian Prime Minister Pandit Nehru the policy of surrendering to Muslim Communalism a special Status to Kashmir because of its being pre Muslim area and you knowingly fully well it to be wrong support it with the expression ' If for certain reasons '. What are those reasons ? Having failed to practically to bring Kashmir State completely integrated like all other States you like Pandit Nehru shift the burden on to others and charge them communal and a ' directly or indirectly pressing ' for the partition of the State. Who is asking for the application of the two Nation theory ? If ' A Constitution, a Flag, and an anthem, these three sum up a Nation ' (Page 3, Our National Song Government of India Publication) is a good principle for the rest of India any variation of this principle of granting a right to have a separate Constitution to a section of Indians (For Kashmiris have very often been declared to be Indians both by Pandit Nehru and Sheikh Abdulla) is the adoption of three nation theory in practice and it is shameful to cast malignantly the burden of its demand on others.

Yours Faithfully,

Harind

Harind Dass
B.A. LL.

31, Kachchi Chowki, Jammu.

1951
Dear Sir,

The Praja Parishad has decided to start a newspaper for the Constituent Assembly and for this purpose our workers are already working day and night for the success. We are under constant demand from the field that we must have a paper to give proper publicity to our cause and to make the voters aware of the value of votes. It is not possible to go from village to village and from voter to voter to make known the instructions issued time after time by the organization. The necessity of Newspaper during all times and especially in the present democratic set up cannot be over-emphasised. Your Govt; have proclaimed so often to the outside world that there is complete freedom of speech and Press in the State and I am certain and confident that the Govt; have no intention of denying the same to our organization.

But I am sorry to point out that inspite of repeated requests to the local authorities, this just and democratic demand has not been acceded, this just and democratic demand has not been acceded so far. The first request for the purpose was made about six months back to the District Magistrate Jammu.

Now we are in the thick of election work and the need for the paper is more pressing. I therefore request you kindly to request the local authorities to accord the necessary sanction and approval for the declaration of a paper named "Swadesh" already filed with the District Magistrate Jammu. Since the elections are fast approaching an early action in the matter is desired.

Yours faithfully

Talk of split in Parishad a loose talk
Parishad united as ever.

1952

My attention has been drawn to an news item published in some papers of India that there exists a split in Parishad ranks over the boycott to the reception of Sadar-i-Rasat. Question of rift over such a fundamental aspects of our political ideology which has far reaching consequences does not arise at all. Rather we cannot conceive of a man who, while affiliating himself to the Parishad can have any regard for a separate head of the state. I strongly condemn such irresponsible news and declare with all the responsibilities at my back that the ranks of Parishad are united as ever and its decisions are as have been so far unanimous.

(Durga Das Verma)
General Secretary,
All Jammu & Kashmir Praja Parishad,
J_A_M_M_U.

both of the public and the Govt., to arrange supply of the forms at easily accessible places.

6 To evolve order and to make proper use of them it is necessary that these lists should be brought upto the mark. Further more sufficient publicity should be given so that the voters may come to know what is expected of them and also the forms for filling objections may be placed at easily accessible places to avoid hardships to the voters.

7 It is expected that to make this first approach to democratic set up a success, the above demands of the voters would be properly looked into, failing which the Praja Parishad would be justified to ask for extension in the time limit for filling objections.

Yours faithfully,

(Durga Dass)

General Secretary,

All Jammu and Kashmir Praja Parishad.

Jammu & Kashmir Praja Parishad

जम्मू-कश्मीर प्रजापरिषद

(Central Office Jammu)

Ref. No

Dated.....

Dear Sir,

I beg to bring to your kind notice the following for favour of your consideration :-

1. The lists of voters were scheduled to be out on 22-5-51 according to the Govt orders published in its Gazette dated 24-5-51. But the lists, NOT to speak of the remotest parts of the province, were NOT out in Jammu City in due time.

2. Due publicity to this effect has NOT been given and consequently this important matter has NOT come to the notice of the general public even until now.

Since the Illage is mostly hilly and inaccessible and the people are illiterate and politically backward, the time limit of three weeks for filing objections is too inadequate.

3. On perusal of some of the voters lists, it has been observed that they contain many omissions, mistakes and misprints. Due to this it is difficult to decipher and understand the same.

4. Objections forms are available only at District and Tehsil Headquarters and are given to the concerned only. Every man and woman cannot be expected to come from far off places to obtain forms for filing objections. It would be costly and troublesome affair. Under these circumstances, it would be in the interest

V. C. Argyranger

1952

DOGRI SANSTHA:

Dogri Sanstha is a cultural Organisation of the Dogra Pahari people of Jammu. It has been working for the last nine years for the cultural and Social advancement of our people. It is a patriotic body. It was the first to welcome the rise of popular democracy in the State in 1947 and work actively for the spread of National Conference Movement in Jammu Province, because we believe that the consolidation of patriotic elements in the State would lend strength and stability to the forces of nationalism in India (A copy of the appeal made to the people by the Organisation at that time is attached for your perusal). As such we alone can reflect the true aspirations of our people, their tone and temper as we alone have living contacts with them.

The proposed constitution of the State -
ordinarily, we keep away from politics but when politics
begins to have a vital bearings upon our future as a people,
silence does not retain its attributed golden qualities.
The recent announcement of Hon'ble Mirza Mohd Afzal Beg the Hon'ble Revenue Minister of the State in the Constituent Assembly that the Kashmir would be fully autonomous republic within India has raised some basic issues which shall have far reaching effect on our people and their culture. It is in the belief that the representation of the real feelings and sentiments of the people about these would be of some help to you in understanding the nature of the problem and in finding a basis for minimum working agreement, that we have taken liberty of addressing these few lines to you.

ACCESSION AND RELATIONS WITH INDIA:-

The State's relations with India are governed by the terms of the Instrument of Accession and subsequent stipulations which secure for the State a greater degree of separation than the other acceding States. An acceding state can stipulate for a greater measure of

of autonomy than others. But there are real differences between Jammu and Kashmir about the degree and extent of autonomy secured. The degree of integration and separation can be varied by varying the number of subjects on the state list, but accession to India does not establish the State to repudiate the basic concepts of the Indian Constitution.

Most people in Jammu would like to join India as other States have joined. There is nothing communal about it. This desire is natural as complete integration with India brings some immediate economic benefits and we stand in need of immediate economic relief. But the people of Jammu will always be prepared to accomodate the other point of view and they will agree to the State retaining a larger number of subjects on the State list as a compromise. But the following basic issues admit of no compromise and the Government of India should take, therefore due note of them. What~~so~~ever, degree of State's internal autonomy we shall not subscribe to a constitution which does not provide for:-

- a) Integration of State's territory with India and hence abolition of Custom or any other condon.
- b) The powers of the Union President as the supreme head of the entire territories of India including the State.
- c) Jurisdiction of the Union supreme Court as the guardian of the law and constitution.
- d) The fundamental rights granted by the Indian Constitution

Ruling House:-

The question of the head of the State also is not so simple. We do not oppose the dissolution of the ruling dynasty if this can facilitate the accession of the entire State to India. But the dissolution of the head dissolves the existing political unity of the various national areas. The State is in the main composed of four distinct geographical regions which had different status before they were brought together into one political unit.

1. Jammu National area, between Banihal and Ravi was a principality held by Raja Gulab Singh II.

2. Ladakh was a part of Tibet but was conquered by Raja Gulab singh in 1842.,
3. Kashmir and the Northern areas were secured through treaty of Amritsar in 1846.
4. Poonch was a Jagir of Raja Dhian singh, Raja Gulabsingh's younger brother.

With the dissolution of the ruling house the sovereignty reverts to these national areas and new unity can only be forged if the independent status of the regions is recognised and accepted. If the State is to function within Indian Constitution the removal of the ruling Prince places following constitutional alternatives before the State Government. //

- a) It can advise the President that he may after consulting the wishes of the people merges it with adjoining State or States.
- b) It can inform the President that the state may now be admitted as Part A State.

People in Jammu would not strive for the disintegration of the State as a Unit. The State has come to them as a heritage from their illustrious forefathers. They are prepared to accept the (b) alternative in spite of the fact that merger with Himmachal would culturally and linguistically be more natural.

BOUNDRIES OF THE VARIOUS REGIONS:-

This is another very important question. It is reported that the areas between Pirpanchal and the Patni Top are being integrated with Kashmir and Rajouri and Poonch is being declared as a separate autonomous region. The creation of these regions has to be viewed from the larger interests of the security of the northern frontiers of India. We met Professor Shibban Lal Sexana some two years back and supplied him with a written note of the subject warning him that sooner or later Kashmir would declare itself to be an autonomous republic and would try to grab as much of territories as it can. Unfortunately, we have not the note with us. But the truth of the Statement can be ascertained by referring to Professor Shibban Lal who may still ~~xx~~ have the note with him. The people of Jammu will not submit to the

titution of their areas and shall whatever their political
 belief or party alignment stake their all for the integrity
 of the areas between the Pirpanchal and the Ravi. The
 integrity of these areas is essential from India's point of
 view as well. This area of the Middle mountains is of great
 strategic importance. The Kishtwar Tehsil is the biggest
 and of the greatest economic and geographic significance.
 The great Himmalayan Zanskar range separates it in the east
 from Sarru and Zanskar illaga of Ladakh and Pirpanchal to
 the west separates both Ramban and Kishtwar from the
 Kashmir Valley. The south east is bounded by Pangikulu
 Lahol. Thus Kishtwar occupies a very important strategic
 position in the geography of the regions lying north of
 Himmachal Pardesh commanding routes into the valley, Ladakh,
 Pangi Lahol and plains of the State. If this region is
 taken away from Jammu the security of Jammu, Himmachal
 and Pangi Lahol will be seriously affected. Moreover, we feel
 that the demarcation of the boundaries as reported in the
 Press divides the territories of the State into Muslim and
 non-muslim areas which amounts to directly playing into the
 hands of Pakistan. These areas are econominally, culturally
 and geographically part of Jammu Province and on this there
 cannot be any compromise.

But in case India is unable to exert pressure for
 integration on account of any previous commitment we hope
 and believe that Govt. of India will help us in securing
 our just place in the arrangements contemplated. There is
 acute discontentment among the people in Jammu and a
 satisfactory solution of the issues raised will relieve
 discontent to a great extent. In case Kashmir choses to be
 an autonomous unit we submit an alternative arrangement
 which can meet the aspiration of the people of this place to
 a large extent. (copy enclosed). In case aspirations of the
 people
~~place~~/of this place are not recognised and accommodated there
 is a great danger of the situation deteriorating. We feel it
 our duty to inform the Govt. of India through you of the
 facts of the situation.

In my statement dated 6th Oct. 1951 at a Press Conference in New Delhi I briefly explained the various tactics adopted by the N.C. Govt. in preventing real representatives of the people from entering the Constituent Assembly. To ensure free and fair elections I suggested to hold an independent judicial enquiry into the rejection of nomination papers and to prevent Govt. servants from influencing the voters and helping the candidates of any party. But the State Govt. and the Govt. of India paid no heed to it. The W.C. of the P.P. unanimously endorsed my suggestions which were further ratified by the representatives from all parts of Jammu Province gathered together in Jammu to decide future course of action after our withdrawal from the Elections as a protest against partial and unfair practices. The Constituent Assembly is the nominee of the N.C. and has no representative character. No-confidence Resolutions were passed by all the Constituencies of the Jammu Province against the representative character of these nominated members and the Assembly which is to function as the sovereign democratic body. I would have cared a little to say a word about the procedure adopted by such an Assembly for election petitions vide J&K Govt. Gazette dt. 15th Oct. 1951. But before being blamed for not availing of the chance of proving the farcical nature of the Assembly election through election petitions, I consider it proper to make it public, that this procedure was another fraud to dupe people as no justice could be expected from ^{the} such-a body which itself is responsible for all injustices and partialities.

In old J&K Praja Sabha election rules of 1942, rules for the final decision of doubts and disputes as to the validity of an election are given under section 117, the court holding such an enquiry is defined as the high court of judicature or any other tribunal specially empowered or appointed by the Government. Under the Govt. of India Corrupt Practices & Election, Petitions against any returned candidate are to be presented before the Governor who is to appoint commissions for the trial of petitions consisting of

those persons who are or have been or are eligible to be appointed judges of the High Court & shall appoint one of them to be the President. Thus for hearing election petitions the appointment of Independent tribunals or commissions consisting of Judicial luminaries is made by the Govt. and not by the Assembly. But in our State the procedure adopted by this manipulated so-called sovereign democratic Assembly is a novel one, suited to gain its own ends. The Resolution in question published in the Gazette of Nov. 15, 1951, which came to be distributed after the 20th Nov. 1951 e.e. 20 days back, leaving only ~~ten~~ ^{hand} days for the urban constitutenceis and practically no time for the rural constituen-
cies to file petitions, ~~which~~ is another fraud. The period of submitting election expenses ~~account~~ on the other ^{hand} was extended because illiterate members failed to do it within the prescribed period.

The so-called Assembly inspite of its unrepresentative character and having no confidence of the people of the Jammu Province has been given vide arbitrary powers under sub para even-of appointing tribunal and even dismissing the petitions. Because of this novel procedure and concentration of powers in one person no fair deal was possible from such a body and as such it was useless to approach it for justice, which was sure to be denied, as it had been denied by ^{the} wholesale rejection of nomination papers. The P.P. under these circumstances did not consider it worthwhile to file elction petitions, though ^{before and independent of the} it could easily be proved ~~that~~ ^{that} the elections were not free and fair at all before an Independent commission or trinunel.

Handwritten signature

Cough like
Prop. Prop.
P.P.
247-1952
1 Govind Ballabh Pant,
the Minister,
Government of India,
New Delhi.

Respected Sir,

Jammu and Kashmir State constituent Assembly is expected to finalise the Constitution of the State shortly. In this connection we would like to place the following submission before you.

We had submitted a memorandum, a copy of which is attached herewith, to the Honourable President of India on 1. 10. 1954 regarding the draft proposals that were then formulated by the State Constituent Assembly about the Constitution for the State.

We had then submitted that we are opposed to the Jammu and Kashmir State having a separate constitution distinct and different from the Constitution of India in the making of which the representatives of Jammu and Kashmir State had also taken part. We had then made it clear that Praja Parishad which has the backing of a large majority of the people of Jammu province at least is definitely opposed to any distinction being made between Jammu and Kashmir State and other constituent units of India because that would perpetuate the sense of separation in a large section of the people of Kashmir which is being exploited by Pakistan to the detriment of the interests of Kashmir State as also of India as a whole.

We do not know as to what is the exact character of the Constitution now being drafted by the Kashmir Government. But indications are that they propose to stick to their original plan of making the Constitution

for Jammu and Kashmir distinct and different from the Constitution of India in every material respect. We have learnt from reliable sources that it does not provide for the auditing of State accounts by the Auditor General of India nor does it accept the supervision of Election Commission of India over the elections in the State. The appointment of the judges of the State High Court is being left in the hands of Sadre-Riyasat who is elected by the legislature and is not a nominee of the President and that Supreme Court of India is not being given full jurisdiction over Kashmir. Elections for the State representatives to the Lok Sabha are sought to be kept indirect as heretofore and no provision for reservation of seats for Harijans through double member constituencies is being made. The present practice of reserving some constituencies exclusive for Harijans deprive non-Harijans of these constituencies of the right to stand for election in their home constituencies.

All this is most perturbing. We have had quite long experience of the highhanded way in which the present State Government has been playing with the rights, honour and liberties of the people of the State. The experience of the recent Municipal and Panchyat elections in the State has confirmed our fears and doubts about the totalitarianism of the men now in power in the State.

We have been putting up with all this in the hope that the dark night will after all end and we will be able to breathe fresh air when the State is fully brought under the Constitution of India. But that hope is becoming dim and the prospect of perpetuation of the present one party oppressive regime is looming large before our eyes. This has naturally made all the freedom loving and democrat

3.

minded people of the State desperate.

We, therefore, beg to request you to see that these objectionable features of the proposed constitution of the State are removed and that it is brought completely in line with the Constitution of India.

Yours sincerely,

Dated. 24th. July, 1956.

(Prem Nath Dogra),
President,

All Jammu and Kashmir, Praja Parishad.

1951
Jammu & Kashmir Praja Parishad

जम्मू-कश्मीर प्रजापरिषद

(Central Office Jammu)

Ref. No.....

2 *Copies*

Dated.....

To

The Chief Election Commissioner,
Jammu and Kashmir Government,
Srinagar.

Dear Sir,

I hope you remember our request for a paper of our ^{own} Freedom of Press and Platform both being the sine-quo-non of free and fair elections, you were kind enough to recommend our case to Hon'ble Bakshi Ghulam Mohammad the Deputy Prime Minister. Time left for elections being too short, the matter needs to be given top-most priority. I expect from you, as the head of elections work, that you would see that the chances of fair and impartial elections are not curtailed and that the Praja Parishad is allowed to run its own paper without loss of further time.

Yours faithfully,

Sh: D.P. Dhar, *full name*
Chief Election Commissioner,
Jammu and Kashmir Government,
Srinagar.

Srinagar,
April 18, 1953.

Broadcasting from Radio Kashmir, Srinagar, last night the Kashmir Prime Minister, Sheikh Mohammad Abdullah said, "We have decided to give autonomy to the different cultural units of the State as will be provided in the Constitution that is being drawn up. This will remove all the fears of domination of one unit over the other and will make for the voluntary unity and consolidation of the people of the State".

Commenting on the recent events in Jammu the Prime Minister said that during the past few months some deplorable events had taken place which ran counter to the basic principles on which the edifice of the State was being reconstructed after the disturbances of 1947. The section of the Jammu population which had been misled by the internal and external communal agencies find their enthusiasm and emotions damped now and I am glad to find that the people of Jammu have begun to realise the grave consequences of the recent agitation. All right-thinking people are expressing regret over all that has happened. This unpleasant state of affairs has not only disturbed the peace and order of the province, but has seriously affected their business activities. The money which would otherwise be spent on the betterment and the welfare of the people had to be spent to meet the expenditure incurred on putting down the disturbance.

The Prime Minister deeply regretted the loss of some lives and other casualties resulting from the action which the police were forced to take on certain occasions as also the casualties suffered by the Police and the Magistracy. He regretted that these unhappy events should have taken place at a time when not only a democratic constitution for the State was being framed but also the Five-year plan was being finalized. He said that the

Government had thought of starting the work of

reconstruction from that very Province but at the time of opening of the Government offices at Jammu the Government had to face the disorder and the disturbances. At a time when the law and order is being threatened it becomes difficult for a Government to implement the nation-building plans. Sheikh Abdullah exhorted the people to fully co-operate with the Government in making democracy a success in the State. He said that the State was passing through a critical phase and any disturbance or disorder would not only be detrimental to the progress and the healthy growth of the State but will be suicidal to its freedom and security.

Sheikh Abdullah reiterating his faith in the common ideals based on secular democracy Sheikh Abdullah said that the freedom and progress of the State depended on standing united in the field of action irrespective of caste and creed. At a time when the Indian sub-continent was torn asunder by the communal forces, ~~Kashmir~~ Kashmir presented an impregnable front to communalism and defeated the two-nation theory. Having failed to coerce the people of Kashmir Pakistan let loose hordes of free-booters on the soil of the State. But the people of the State, irrespective of caste and creed stood as one man and refused to bow before the demon of communalism. They did not swerve from the path of communal brotherhood. "Inspired by the principles of brotherhood and religious tolerance we went ahead with some nation-building reforms including abolition of jagirdari and hereditary rule," he said.

Sheikh Abdullah said that in the present age of democracy the idea of class domination was pernicious and deplorable. "We are out to afford equal opportunities to all people so that each unit may progress in accordance with its cultural needs. We consider it a heinous crime to make any distinction on grounds of race colour or creed. We have, therefore, decided to give autonomy to the different cultural units of the State as will be provided in the constitution that is being drawn up. This will remove all the fears of domination by one unit over the other and making for voluntary co-operation among people of the State", he added.

Continuing, Sheikh Abdullah said that the future constitutional edifice of the State would be laid on the twin-principles of democracy and communal brotherhood. It was on these principles that the State's accession was made with India in 1947. "At that time only two courses were open to us - to join India or Pakistan. Pakistan tried to coerce us but after due deliberation we acceded to India in the interests of the people. We felt that in principle there was nothing in common between the "New Kashmir" programme and the foundations on which the Pakistan leaders were trying to build their nation. We took this decision at a very critical time when communal fires in some parts of India had not died down."

The people of Kashmir cast their lot with the people of India to uphold and safeguard their freedom and cherished progressive ideals. This communion of ideologies resulted in the establishment of firm political relationship between the State and the ~~United Provinces~~ Indian Union. Accordingly an honourable place was given to the State in free India's constitution. In legal phraseology what was termed as Section 370 of the Indian Constitution, was a permanent and invariable bond between the State and the Indian Union so far as human relationship is concerned.

Sheikh Abdullah made it clear that the State had acceded to India in three subjects viz., Defence, Foreign Affairs^{ai} and Communications. With regard to the other subjects, he said, that under ^{Article} Section 370 of the Indian Constitution the State's Constituent Assembly was a sovereign body. The position was further clarified in the Delhi Agreement which was approved by the Indian Parliament and the State Constituent Assembly. "The Instrument of Accession, ^{Article} Section 370 of the Indian Constitution and the Delhi Agreement of 1952 now form the basis of relationship between the State and the Indian Union. Both the Governments are bound to implement and abide by them", he added.

Drawing a distinction between "integration" and "accession" the Prime Minister said that those who believed that Kashmir's accession meant merger with India were labouring under false notion. The people of Kashmir he said had no doubt acceded to

India and the accession was complete in fact and law but the State had not merged with India. The purpose of the present relationship ~~between~~ of the State with India was to bring the people of the two countries nearer each other. Ideological affinity based on union of hearts was essential for permanent relationship. "Those who ignore this important factor in human relationship were putting the cart before the horse," he added.

Referring to the Praja Parishad movement in Jammu, Sheikh Abdullah said, that its leaders were trying to give communal colour to politics of the State. In view of the delicate nature of Kashmir question in the international field the activities of Parishad could produce disastrous consequences which would benefit Pakistan alone.

He appealed to the good sense of the people not to be carried off their feet by the propagands of communal bodies and exhorted them to realise their duty towards their motherland. "Uncertain conditions prevailing in the country have retarded our progress, but the Government is determined to carry forward the nation-building programme. The Five-year plan has already been drawn up and its success depends mostly on the co-operation of the people.

~~no operation of people.~~ "We have not only to re-build our country but also to re-habilitate our mislead brethren intellectually and politically," he said.

Sheikh Abdullah appealed to the people of Jammu not to be mislead by those whose past is already soiled. He added that the people were once before mislead by the so-called leaders which resulted in a catastrophe. If the people of Jammu ~~once~~ again allowed themselves to be exploited by the so-called leaders, it would result in some grim tragedy. "I assure the people on my own behalf and on behalf of my Government that we shall forget this painful chapter, provided our basic principles are not impaired. We welcome any honest and constructive criticism because as human beings we do not consider ourselves unerring," he added. The Prime Minister said that the criticism should be such as would promote unity and not disruption. He assured the people that if they remained united, no body could harm them. "Let us therefore rise to the occasion, ~~and~~ understand the realities of the situation and live together in mutual good-will and confidence. Standing shoulder to shoulder let us march forward on the path of progress and stand guard on each others honour," he said.

Addressing the people of Kashmir Valley, Sheikh Abdullah said that the Praja Parishad movement was run by ^{only} those people who were the bulwarks of the old regime or who were affected by the progressive policy of the present Government or those who were communal-minded. So far as the masses of Jammu ~~are~~ ^{were} concerned, their problems were fundamentally the same as these of other backward people. "We should not class them with agitators and nor should we forget those Hindus and Sikhs who in the dark days of 1947 tried to save hundreds of destitute Muslim men and women by giving them shelter in spite of the grave dangers." He exhorted the people to stick to their principles and said that the events after 1947 had justified the choice made by the people of Kashmir, for the people of India in general rejected the communal outlook. In

the recent general elections in India no communal body could enlist mass support, *He added:*

Addressing the people of Kashmir Valley, Sheikh Abdullah said that the Praja Parishad movement was run by only those people who were the bulwarks of the old regime or who were affected by the progressive policy of the present Government or those who were communal-minded. So far as the masses of Jammu are concerned, their problems were fundamentally the same as those of other backward people. "We should not class them with agitators and nor should we forget those Hindus and Sikhs who in the dark days of 1947 tried to save hundreds of destitute Muslim men and women by giving them shelter in spite of the grave dangers." He exhorted the people to stick to their principles and said that the events after 1947 had justified the choice made by the people of Kashmir, for the people of India in general rejected the communal outlook. In the recent general elections in India no communal body could enlist mass support.

Expressing deep sympathy with the Kashmiris on the other side of the Cease-fire line, Sheikh Abdullah said: "We are anxiously awaiting the day when the territorial integrity of ~~the compromised~~ the State will be restored and lakhs of our uprooted brethren may re-settle in their own home and live peacefully." He exhorted them to arise and awake and not to allow themselves to be exploited any further by their so-called leaders who were responsible for all their misery and suffering and added that if they did not rise to the occasion, there could be no hope of their securing freedom from the present misery.

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Jammu & Kashmir Praja Parishad

जम्मू-कश्मीर प्रजापरिषद

(Central Office Jammu)

Ref. No. 1491.

Dated 18.6.1951.

The Hon'ble Deputy Prime Minister,
Jammu and Kashmir Government,
Srinagar.

Dear Sir,

This is in continuation of our telegram dated 12.6.1951, regarding serious beating of the Praja Parishad people by the National Conference workers at Sudhmahadev in District Udhampur. The moment I received the report of the sad incident, I proceeded to Udhampur to enquire into the matter. The detail of the case is that a public meeting ^{to be held on 11th June, 1951.} had been arranged a week before at Sudhmahadev in Chanani Illaga. Accordingly the Praja Parishad meeting commenced at the appointed time with a song. As soon as the song concluded, a batch of 50 people armed with axes and Lathies was seen approaching to the meeting place raising slogans Sher-i- Kashmir Zindabad, Motiram Baigra Zindabad, National Conference Zindabad and Praja Parishad Mardabad. On reaching the spot, they cardoned the stage, abused the work/ers and fell upon them with their axes and Lathies. Mr. Mulldiraj, Organizing Secretary, Udhampur

Jammu & Kashmir Praja Parishad

जम्मू-कश्मीर प्रजापरिषद

(Central Office Jammu)

Ref. No.....

2 / Dated.....

and another worker received serious injuries.

The Police authorities on spot refused to entertain their written report. (S.I. 12th June 1951) Next day they were brought to Udhampur.

The Superintendent of Police also did not entertain the Report. The Medical Officer Udhampur was approached, but he also did not examine the wounds to issue the necessary certificate. He was again and again requested to do his duty as prescribed under rules, but he did not accede.

The Head of the District, Deputy Commissioner, Udhampur, was requested to look into the grave matter personally and take requisite steps to bring the culprits to book. He also did not take any notice. All this compelled me to bring the injured persons to Jammu for medical examination and proper treatment at 11-30 P.M. the same day. The wounds had by then remained unattended for more ^{than} 24 hours. Before removing them to Jammu, the matter was again brought to the notice of the Superintendent of Police and the Deputy Commissioner by me.

Attacks on public meetings organized by a political

Jammu & Kashmir Praja Parishad

जम्मू-कश्मीर प्रजापरिषद

(Central Office Jammu)

Ref. No.....

Dated.....

party by another party and raising of anti slogans inciting violence and beating of the workers mercilessly is a clear goondaism which if not nipped in time is likely to create chaos and disturb the peace of the country. I may bring it to your kind notice that this is the direct result of Mr. Moti Ram Baigra and his companions preaching violence and hatred. They exhort people to beat and stone the Praja Parishad people. As a specimen, his speech at Reasi about two months back may be referred to in which he incited the audience to blacken the faces of Praja Parishad workers, tie them on donkeys and drive ^{them} ~~them~~ away after they are beaten with lathies and axes.

In spite of all these unbearable insults, our workers have behaved like true followers of Mahatma Gandhi and preferred death to raise a finger against the hoodlums. The incident referred to above is the 2nd attack of its kind in Chenani Illaga.

The attack was well preplanned and arranged. The Police authorities instead of controlling the situation encouraged the goondas, and the worst is that even the Police

authorities Udhampur did not entertain the first information report of the sad incident and the Medical Officer also did not issue the certificate. It means that the administration is in these hoodligns' hands posing as National Conference workers and they have a free hand to do whatever they like. The Honour and lives of the peace loving people are not secure. The peace of the country is at stake. Law and order is being abused. Goondaism is rampant. We hope you will kindly take personal interest in the matter.

Yours faithfully,

General Secretary,
All Jammu & Kashmir Praja Parishad,
Jammu.

No. 1492

J. Jammu, 18/6/54.

Copy submitted to the Hon'ble Prime Minister
His Highness Jammu and Kashmir Govt. Srinagar,
for information and for necessary action.

Sd. Dugad Kumar
Genl Secretary.

equalities, and the enjoyment of full freedom of speech, press and platform. Provision for safeguarding the rights and interests of backward classes are found in it. It also guarantees full opportunities for the progress and happiness of the minorities.

The best brains have produced this after hard and strenuous labours extending over years at a tremendous cost. The Praja Parishad considers it would waste of time and money if a new constitution is aimed at in the State, and it may fail to satisfy minorities and backward classes. The Praja Parishad will work for the attainment of this objective.

REFUGEE PROBLEM.

The rehabilitation of the refugees has NOT been achieved so far by the emergency of the State, though about four years have elapsed. This is causing hardship, to the displaced persons, and is lowering their morale and is making them idlers and useless members of the State. The Praja Parishad, if afforded opportunities will give priority to the problem and will strive for the restoration of their normal conditions by giving them land, houses, and other facilities for their normal development. Ideal colonies will be created for them at available places where all the amenities will be provided for them. These amenities will consist of light, sanitation, water, irrigation, education medical and recreation grounds welfare centres etc. Suitable industries will also be arranged to make themselves sufficient.

4. ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT.

With the attainment of final accession to India and the application of the Indian Constitution, the Praja Parishad would like to take up the economic development of the State in the following order, which would satisfy all requirements of the people and the Nation.

(a) Industry and handicrafts.

The top priority would be given to industrialization with a view to provide work to all people, and meet requirements of the Nation for capital and consumption goods. Development of water power and resources to supply sufficient & cheap electric power as well as water for drinking and irrigation purposes,

would receive the first priority which would give impetus to mining, manufacture of metals, chemicals, glass, ceramics and to engineering, wood processing industry, textile and clothing, leather goods, printing, film industry, sugar, tobacco and other industries.

(b) AGRICULTURE AND FORESTRY.

This line would speed up improvement and protection of animals and cattle mechanization and electrification of agriculture, use of selected seeds and seedlings and chemical fertilizers, and establishment of land volunteers to dig canals and tanks to reclaim land and to bring it under cultivation, with a view to give impetus to grow more food campaign and make the country self sufficient in food grains.

(c) BUILDING

Houses for the homeless people will be provided and improvement of houses will be looked into. All the refugees and displaced persons will be provided with decent accommodation.

(d) TRANSPORT.

Communication lines to all industrial places and mining centres will be improved for the playing of motor, rail river and air transport.

(e) INTERNAL TRADE

Advanced forms of distribution and adequate circulation of commodities, constant flow of consumers goods amongs all classes of people, will be provided.

(f) RAISING OF THE MATERIAL AND CULTURAL LEVEL OF THE PEOPLE.

With the industrialization improvement of cultivation methods, housing, transport and trade, the material level of the people will be raised. By improving the social services of the public administration, which mix of social, health, and cultural and education, the social welfare of the people would be improved, and also the quantity and quality of consumers goods on the home market would be improved. Care of employed women and working youths would receive attention, for this recreations of proper institutions would be arranged.

The cultural level would be raised by ~~plan~~^{planned} educational and institutional services. Education on proper lines would be arranged for all classes of people, who would be free to get the required education. Situated as the State people are, the first great need of the community is a practical system of basic education for the child and the illiterate adults, but it should NOT impoverish higher knowledge but should rather enrich it. Basic education is the only remedy to meet the demand of free and compulsory education. An honest society can be formed only by the spread of basic education. Scientific and technical education should be speeded up.

(g) PRODUCTIVITY OF LABOUR/ WOULD BE RAISED. It depends upon firstly heightened responsibility and initiative on the part of every industrial worker and of the broad masses of the working population, secondly on the united trade union organization of workers and enterprises, offices and institutions to see to it. Political economical enlightenment of employees will be increased, creative initiative of workers will be supported, competition within and among enterprisers, will be intensified, perfection of efficiency standards will be made, new methods of production will be utilized, organization of work in accordance with the principles of ^{scientific} ~~firm~~ production. Layout will be created and improved and the ~~improvement~~ of safety measures will be made. Thus the Praja Parishad will see to the economic development of the country by transforming gradually the economic and social structure of the country, by introducing efficiency and devotion to duty, as the general progress of the economic strength of the State and of the standard of living of each citizen or conditional upon the proper and honest carrying out of the work.

5. LAND REFORMS.

With the initiation of industrialization in the State, and making provision for cheap and abundant water power, and also by supplying work to all unemployed and displaced persons, conditions for introducing land reforms in the State would become ripe, without these conditions the land reforms would become a farce and would shatter the economy of the State, by increasing

the number of unemployed and lowering their standard of living.

The Praja Parishad is in favour of introduction of the land reforms at the right time and believes in the land to the tillers theory. The land reforms introduced by the present Government are lopsided, as they are made without creating the pre-requisite conditions and without the sanction of the voters or the masses. The Praja Parishad will take to land reforms at proper time, when all the persons and population deprived of this means of livelihood will be properly absorbed in suitable industries and will be properly compensated for by the Government. The distribution of land amongst the tillers will be fair, so that each may get sufficient land to support his family and to meet all other requirements. A suitable measure of land income would form the bases of distribution. The present distribution is haphazard and is not likely to raise a living standard of the tillers.

6. CUSTOMS BARRIERS WILL BE REMOVED.

To ensure free flow of both internal and foreign trade for purposes of proper distribution of consumption and capital goods and also to give impetus to the industrialization of the country, ~~country's~~ barriers and customs duty will be removed. This will follow automatically on the application Indian Constitution but ^{steps will be taken by} till it materialises, the Praja Parishad to remove them.

7. ADMINISTRATION.

The Praja Parishad feels that the State administration has become top heavy and there is inefficiency and corruption in it all round. The Praja Parishad will strive to make it less heavy, by fixing adequate rates of pay for all employees. The rates will be such as to see that the proportion between the highest and the lowest is in the ratio of 10 to 1. The scales of pay of low grade and middle class servants will be adequately raised to make the service efficient, honest and devoted to duty. Unnecessary cuts will be resorted to.

8. APPOINTMENT OF PUBLIC SERVICE COMMISSION.

To check favouritism in the services and to create efficiency, security, honesty and devotion to duty in the State servants, the appointment of a public service commission will be

made which will make all appointments on the basis of efficiency by holding competitive examinations without any consideration of cast and creed.

9. ANTI-CORRUPTION BOARD.

To give goodby to corruption and dishonesty, an anti-corruption board consisting of three members of integrity will be appointed to enquire into complaints of corruption against Government servants. This board will recommend to be taken against such officers to the Government for necessary action.

10. LANGUAGE

The language policy of the State has raised many doubts and suspicions as regards the alleged secularism of the State. The imposition of one language on all the people of the State without their wishes and likings is the very denial of the freedom of language and speech. In a democratic setup, every language must find full scope for development, and individuals should have the choice to select his language.

✓ The Praja Parishad will leave the question of selection of proper language or languages to the individual concern or to the organizations or societies.

11. MILITARY TRAINING.

Since the Jammu and Kashmir State is hemmed ⁱⁿ on all sides amongst different countries of varying ideologies and cultures, some of them as for instance Pakistan very hostile towards it. The Praja Parishad stands for compulsory military training for all adults to defend the country properly. It also feels the necessity of forming frontier guards and supply arms and ammunition to the people living near on the borders.

12. COTTAGE INDUSTRIES.

Cottage industries will be given impetus in the rural areas of the State with a view to implement earnings of the agriculturists and to provide work to them in spare times. The idea is to create self sufficient units of villages.

1. PROHIBITION.

The Praja Parishad is in favour of introducing

61 who proved a match for the British and managed not only to preserve his ancient kingdom in this ancestral homeland of his, but also to extend it to the far-flung Himalayan regions like Ladakh, Baltistan and Gilgit. Every patriotic citizen of the State whom prejudice has NOT blinded, is proud of the heroic achievements of Wazir Zorawarsingh, General Hushiar Singh and thousands of Dogras soldiers who laid down their lives to ~~the~~ extend the boundaries of the State, and therefore also the India, through and beyond the Himalayan passes. A discerning historian like Sardar K.M. Panikar in his biography of Maharaja Gulabsingh has described him as the "Greatest constructive statesman produced by India in the 19th Century".

Even the Kashmir Valley, which was transferred by the British to Maharaja Gulabsingh under the treaty of Amritsar in 1849, and had to be conquered by Dogras by force of arms. The treaty no doubt made him the "dejure" ruler of the valley, but it was Dogras arms that made him the "defacto" ruler of it. The valley has benefitted from the Dogra rule of one hundred years than any other part of the State. Modern Kashmir is a creation of the Dogras rulers who gave it peace, prosperity, security and orderly development even at the cost of and neglect of Jammu their own homeland.

Perfect communal harmony prevailed in this State for about 80 years until the British in their anxiety to curb the independence spirit of the present Maharaja of Kashmir started the communal bogey here. The Muslim Conference founded ~~in~~ within the State in 1930 was an off shoot of the Indian Muslims League. It ~~was~~ carried on a virulent communal propaganda against Hindus in general and the Hindu Maharaja in particular. This resulted in wide spread riots in the muslim majority parts of the State during 1931-32 in which hundreds of innocent non-muslims men and women and children were killed and thousands rendered homeless. The Maharaja had to seek the aid of the British to restore order. His pride was humbled and his spirit crushed. The British Indian Government forced him to appoint a Brit

Prime Minister and themselves secured full control over Gilgit which strategically and politically they considered to be important for imperial purposes.

As the British policy of fostering communal dissensions had come to stay in the State, the Muslim Conference continued to grow in strength. The Glancy Commission gave the Muslims of the State a number of concessions which further raised the stock of the Muslim conference. Its organisers soon realised that they could NOT wrest power from the Hindu Maharaja so long as they marched openly under communal colours. Thus, as a matter of expediency which was cleverly disguised as nationalistic idealism, they decided to convert the communal organisation into national Conference in 1939. The majority consisting of Kashmiri Muslims having realised that power whenever and however it might come into popular hands ⁱⁿ ~~off~~ Kashmir, will really be their own power, accepted this change. But the more communal minded among Kashmiri Muslims and the majority of Muslims in Jammu refused to accept this change. So there was a split. The leadership of the Muslim Conference passed into the hands of Ghulam Abbas and Maulvi Yusuf who are now running the show of the so called Azad Kashmir Government,

National Conference has continued primarily as a party organisationx of the people of Kashmir valley, 95% of whom happen to be muslims. Its main political objective has been the liquidationx of Dogra rule over Kashmir valley. Quit Kashmir movement was aimed against the Dogra people of Jammu as such. Naturally, it was not able to secure any foothold in Jammu. Barring a few communists, none from Jammu joined the National Conference. On the contrary, the people of Jammu ~~developed~~ developed a strong sentiment against the National Conference whose bias and activities continued to be communal even after it had changed its name to " National".

It was against this background of Kashmir politics that the plans of partitioning India were initiated by the

British Government. Muslim League claimed Jammu & Kashmir State for Pakistan on the basis of its being a Muslim majority unit. The muslim conference carried on a virulent propaganda in the State in the favour of the partition of India in the years preceding the partition. The National Conference remained silent about the issue for long. Its leaders wanted to grasp ~~xxx~~ real power before committing themselves to any course of action.

The Dogra people of Jammu, majority of whom happened to be Hindus, were opposed to partition but they were ~~disorganised~~ disorganised. As 15th August approached, they became more and more anxious about the state's accession to India before that date. The workers of the praja parishad and its President did their utmost to bring about speedy decision. But during all this time the leaders of the National Conference within and outside the ~~xxxxx~~ the Jail kept mum over the issue of accession and thus weakened the forces working for accession to India,

The events that followed August 15 - blockage by Pakistan, raids on the border of Jammu and then invasion of Kashmir on Oct. 22 to force the hands of the Maharaja to accede to Pakistan are still fresh in our memory. It is a pity that these happenings have been systematically misrepresented to the people and Government of India by the so called National Leaders of Kashmir in order to malign the vilify the people of Jammu. None can deny the fact that not a single Muslim was killed in Jammu in the dark days of March and August 1947 when lacs of Hindus and Sikh refugees from West punjab entered the State who were bitter against Muslims. Many of the people of Jammu had also lost their near and dear ones in the railway trains that were running between Jammu and Wazirabad. I, myself as President of the Relief Committee gave relief to Muslims from the East punjab, who crossed through the State into the West Punjab.

It was not until the early days of October that "Pakistan Leaders" turned their greedy eyes towards Jammu. The trouble was started by propakistani Muslims from within and Pakistan nationals from without the State. They had collected arms and had planned to finish the Hindus of Jammu. Had they succeeded in their designs, Kashmir Valley would have been completely cut ~~xxxx~~ off from the rest of India and the future course of events there would have been quite different from what it has been.

The Dogras against whom venom is now being poured day and night bore the brunt of the invaders not only on the borders of Jammu but even in Kashmir. The Dogras soldiers under the gallant leadership of Brig. Rajendrasingh fought a rear guard action against odds and kept the enemy at a distance from Srinagar before the aid from India could arrive.

The Praja Parishad has been a non-communal and non-sectarian organisation from its very inception. Its doors are open to all. It stands for progressive economic policies and democratic system of Government. It has a record of service to the people and they love it and have confidence in it.

✓ The people of Jammu have never looked upon the National ~~Conference~~ Conference as their representative organisation, yet in their keenness for accession of the State to India, they offered their cooperation to those entrusted with the powers of Government because they were believed to be in favour of the accession of the State to India. The enthusiastic reception given to Sheikh Abdullah on his first visit to Jammu after assuming charge of Government was beyond his own expectations. Had this goodwill been properly reciprocated on the part of his Government the conditions of the State would have been different from what it is today. I myself offered him my own and that of my organisation's cooperation. We then thought that a new chapter in the history of the State had truly been opened. That is why I agreed to serve as a member of the goodwill mission which he sent out to the

disturbed areas in order to pacify the people there.

But soon for reasons quite unknown to me a complete change occurred in the attitude of the Government circles. A campaign of vilification against the people of Jammu in general and of Praja Parishad in particular was started. I need not catalogue here the acts of omission and commission of Abdullah Government during the last four years, which have completely shaken the faith of all in his administration. ~~xxix-~~ The average citizen in Jammu feels that he is being ruled by an alien and unsympathetic administration. Articles of great value belonging to the Government in Jammu have been carried away to Kashmir and the Districts of Jammu Province have been cut ~~out~~ up to carve out new Muslim majority Districts of Boda and Rajouri. This has made everyone in Jammu to suspect that a conspiracy that might affect the destiny of the Province has been hatched.

The continuous suppression of civil liberties and persistent efforts to liquidate Praja Parishad by means fair or foul has added to our doubts. The only crime of Praja Parishad is that it stands for full accession.

Our one hope all these years has been that sooner or later accession of the State to India will be finalised and we will have the protection of fundamental rights, and of the Indian Supreme Court and other constitutional safeguards provided in the Indian Constitution. It was in this hope that Praja Parishad decided to contest elections to the State Constituent Assembly, the declared purpose of which was to ratify the accession of the State to India. But the wholesale rejection of the nomination papers of our candidates disillusioned us. Our demand for impartial enquiry into these glaring irregularities was not heeded and we were left with no alternative but to boycott the elections.

In these circumstances we are not prepared to accept the claim that the present Constituent Assembly represents

the Jammu People. We are sure that if a new assembly is elected or a referendum is held in Jammu the people of Jammu will never confirm the decisions of the present Constituent Assembly about State flag and limited application of Indian Constitution to the state etc. It is the red flag of the National Conference which has been adopted with slight modifications as the state flag. So far as the people of Jammu are concerned, they look upon this flag as anti Dogra flag under which they have been and are being vilified and cannot tolerate it, particularly as a rival of our National flag. A separate State flag can only be a rival to the National flag of ~~Kashmir~~ India. From the wider National point of view also it is dangerous precedent that may encourage disruptive forces in the country. We hold no ~~brief~~ brief for the princely order but we are opposed to the Maharaja being sacrificed merely to appease Sheikh Abdullah.

But real question is the application of the Indian Constitution and the integration of the state to India like other part B States. That alone can be real safeguard of the liberties of the people and a guarantee of their future happiness and prosperity. The terms of agreement about these matters between Pandit Nehru and Sh. Abdullah do not fulfil the expectations of the people of the state, particularly of Jammu. It will be one of the major tasks before this Conference to give its unequivocal verdict about that agreement. The stand taken by ^{the} praja parishad on the question of accession as elucidated in my memorandum to the president of India is clear and unambiguous.

We want the whole of State of Jammu & Kashmir to be an integral part of India like all other part B States. We want our territories now occupied by Pakistan to be recovered and we are prepared to make any sacrifice to achieve this.

But if in order to appease the National Conference Leaders this just and correct course cannot be followed in relation to Kashmir Valley we are not prepared to accept a

limited accession with respect to the rest of the State.

Geographically, culturally, socially, economically and also historically the province of Jammu is a part of India. It was the Maharaja of Jammu who acquired the Kashmir Valley in 1846. We sincerely and ardently wish that our association with Kashmir which has subsisted during the preceding one hundred or more, should continue also in the future. But this is possible only if the whole of the State accedes to India fully and without any reservation whatsoever, like other Part B States. But if those who speak in the name of the Kashmir Valley are not prepared to go so far, they have no right to restrict our choice. If they are entitled to self-determination, we are also entitled to it. Lest there be any mistake or misunderstanding about our attitude in any quarter, we emphatically declare, now and for ever, that we are, and wish to remain, and are determined to remain, an integral part of the Indian Nation and the Indian State without any reservation whatsoever. In case those who claim to speak on behalf, or in the name of Kashmir Valley, are unwilling or unable to go so far, for reasons best known to them, ^{we} appeal to the people and the Government of India that the accession of the province of Jammu to India should be full complete in all subjects, that all provisions of the Indian Constitution should apply to it without any reservation whatsoever, including those relating to fundamental rights and their enforcement through the Supreme Court of India and the people of Jammu Province should be the full fledged citizens of India. We would request further that the people of Ladakh may also be treated in the same manner if they so desire.

In the end I appeal to the Government of India to take a sympathetic and realistic view of the situation in the Jammu & Kashmir State. Let them NOT sacrifice praja parishad and the people of Jammu merely for appeasing certain people.

I appeal also to Sh. Abdullah to rise to the occasion

take a broader view of the situation and try to understand our view point and feelings.

We know that the policy outlined above requires for its implementation tremendous efforts on the part of the people of Jammu. Mistakes of the past and mishandling of a delicate situation during the last 4 years or more have created a situation which can be remedied only by heroic efforts involving great sacrifices. The people of Jammu have assembled in this Convention to declare and make known to all concerned, particularly to the people and the Government of India, that we are capable of, willing to, and ready for such efforts and sacrifices.

We are grateful to the leaders and the press of India who have of late begun to take an enlightened interest in the affairs of the State. I would like to assure them that in whatever we do, we will keep the interests of our motherland uppermost in our hearts. What we expect from them is a sympathetic understanding of our problems and appreciation of our desire for self-preservation.

Jai Hind

Eight-Year-Old Kashmir

The Origin Of Conflict

By Wahida Ahmed

Pan-Asia Special To The Mainichi

— 1 —

KARACHI.—The fate of four-million Kashmiris has been hanging in the balance for eight years. These people have been exploited for centuries. Their beautiful country, covering 82,258 square miles and protected by the Karakoram and Pir Panjal mountain ranges, is mostly mountainous with very little roads. They have lived in isolated groups for centuries. The career of their state, known as Jammu and Kashmir, has been ill-starred, since it came into existence in 1846.

Kashmir was captured by the Sikhs in 1819. The Sikh troops rebelled there in 1841. Maharaja Ranjit Singh entrusted the task of quelling this rebellion to Gulab Singh, a Dogra hill chief. He crushed the rebellion and became a virtual king for four years. Then came the First Sikh War. The victorious British East India Company demanded from the defeated Sikhs an indemnity. The Dogra chief Gulab Singh, after the failure of his intrigues against the Sikhs, had surrendered in 1845. The Sikh government in Lahore ceded to the British, Kashmir and the hill states as an indemnity. The British East India Company later sold Kashmir to Raja Gulab Singh for the sum of £1-million. On 16th March 1846 the transaction was legalized by the signing of the Treaty of Amritsar. According to the Treaty "all hill country between Indus and Ravi" were sold "for the sum of 75 lakhs of Rupees." The Dogra chiefs, according to Article 10 of the Treaty, had to present to the British every year one horse, 12 goats and six Kashmir Shawls in "token of British supremacy"! This was being done till 1947.

Writing on the sale of Kashmir the British historians, Thompson and Garratt, said: "Yet this selling of a Muslim people to a family of extravagantly Hindu has resulted in rebellion even in our postwar world, which British power had to suppress; and the scandal of the Kashmir transfer was felt even at the time, in an uneasy, sub-conscious fashion." Sheikh Imamuddin, the Muslim Governor of Srinagar, rebelled and defeated Gulab Singh's troops when they tried to enter the new dominion. The British Company helped Gulab Singh establish himself in Kashmir. They also lent some British officers to crush the Muslim opposition. One of the officers, Sir Herbert Edwardes, who was with Gulab Singh frequently, gave the following testimony to the Dogra chief: "He was the worst native I ever came in contact with. A bad king, a miser and a liar."

Prime Minister. The Kashmir dispute originated because of the appointment of a Muslim as the Prime Minister of Kashmir!

The Muslim majority of Kashmir was dissatisfied for centuries. The restless people had been demanding a liberal policy of land revenue and taxation. In 1924 they presented to the Viceroy of India a memorandum stating their grievances and sought redress. The condition of Muslims was worsening day by day. Efforts were made to convert the Muslims of Kashmir into Hinduism.

Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru, the Prime Minister of India, in his book "Discovery of India" writes: "In Kashmir a long continued process of conversion to Islam had resulted in 95 per cent of the population becoming Moslems, though they retained many of their old Hindu customs. In the middle 19th century, the Hindu ruler found that a very large number of these people were anxious or willing to return en bloc to Hinduism. He sent a deputation to the Pundits of Benares inquiring if this could be done. The pundits refused to countenance any such change and there the matter ended. If viewed against the Kashmir background, it is not difficult to come to the conclusion that Muslims must have expressed the desire for conversion not because of their "spiritual longing" but because of the conditions obtaining in the State.

1931 Agitation

In 1931 the Kashmir Muslims' agitation took a practical shape. They formed an organization called the All-Jammu and Kashmir Muslim Conference. Immediately there was stiff opposition to this move from the State Government. Efforts were made to suppress the agitation. There were disturbances all over the State. The British Government appointed three commissions to inquire into the reasons for the agitation. The Muslims at last succeeded in getting reforms instituted. They also managed to get a Legislature instituted on some sort of an elective basis. The Muslim Conference won 16 out of 21 elected seats. Maharaja Hari Singh openly adopted an anti-Muslim attitude.

At this time one of the Muslim Conference leaders, Sheikh Abdullah, dissociated himself from the Conference and formed his own party, the National Conference. Both the parties were opposed to the Maharaja's Government. The National Conferences, however, tried to assume a secular role. Sheikh Abdullah launched a "Quit Kashmir" campaign. He wanted to get rid of Maharaja Sir Hari Singh's rule in Kashmir. He was also a sympathizer of the Indian National Congress.

Unfortunate People

The descendants of this Kashmir ruler have been ruling over the unfortunate people all these years. The grand-nephew of Gulab Singh, Maharaja Hari Singh, the father of the present Head of the State Yuvaraj Karan Singh, paid hardly any attention to the welfare of the people. His system of land revenue and taxation hardly left any margin of subsistence to the Kashmiri Muslims. Eighty-five per cent ad valorem duty was levied on woolen manufactured goods. The taxation on land was about four times higher than what was levied in the neighboring provinces. Arms licenses were issued only to the Hindus. Muslims were hanged for slaughtering cows! All wealth and power was concentrated in the hands of Hindu Pandits. These Pandits possessed "a high level of ability" and the ancestors of the present Prime Minister of India Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru, were drawn from these Pandits some two centuries ago. There has never been a Muslim Premier in the State until Sheikhan Abdullah became the

1946 Sheikhan Abdullah was arrested. Pandit Nehru rushed to Kashmir to defend his friend Abdullah. The Kashmir authorities arrested Jawaharlal Nehru. Maharaja Hari Singh was afraid of losing his crown and consequently he adopted a very stiff attitude and a strong anti-Muslim bias.

In the month of June 1947 the Labor Government of Britain announced the transfer of power in the old India to two new Dominions—India and Pakistan. The Indian princely States were free to choose either dominion for accession or remain independent. The Kashmir Muslim Conference also discussed the question of accession. It decided in favor of accession to Pakistan. This was a clear indication of the opinion of the Muslims of Kashmir even before the particular of the

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Eight-Year-Old Kashmir Azad Kashmir Movement

By Wahida Ahmed

Pan-Asia Special To The Mainichi

— 2 —

KARACHI.—In 1947 the Muslim subjects of Poonch rebelled against their local Hindu Raja while he was trying to realize the taxes and duties levied by Maharaja Hari Singh. The Dogra troops were sent to crush the Poonch opposition. Muslim soldiers of the Kashmir Army refused to take arms against their brethren. Instead of fighting their fellow Muslims they left the Dogra ruler's army.

An independent (Azad) Kashmir Government was formed under the leadership of Sardar Mohammed Ibrahim, a Poonch lawyer. A new army was raised. About 30,000 rural people of Poonch and Mirpur joined the Azad forces. Many of them were the members of the old Indian Army. These stalwarts decided to observe the Pakistan Independence Day on August 14 in Poonch. The move was opposed by the Kashmir forces who were actively supported by the militant Hindu RSS, members of the old INA and the Akali Sikhs.

Terror was let loose on Kashmiri Muslims. About five lakh (500,000) Muslims fled to the Azad Kashmir area from the Valley. During the first week of November two Muslim convoys were massacred near a village on Jammu-Kathua Road by their own Sikh escorts and armed Hindu RSS "volunteers." Hindu and Sikh refugees were pouring into Kashmir from West Pakistan and it appeared that the Hindu ruler of Kashmir thought it was an opportunity to exchange them with the Muslim subjects who were fleeing to Azad Kashmir and West Pakistan. Horrible stories of massacre and systematic butchery of Kashmir Muslims reached West Pakistan

and leaders were insisting that unless the Kashmir's ruler acceded to India they would not extend their hand of help to him. Mr. V. P. Menon flew to Srinagar to convey India Government's opinion. With a view to force Maharaja Hari Singh to accede to India the arms and ammunition due to Kashmir from India were not delivered. The Sikh and Indian refugees created such a chaos and confusion in the State that Maharaja Hari Singh was forced to sow wind and reap whirlwind. No assistance without accession—was India's stand. The ruler of Kashmir who was dreaming of an independent Kashmir, who had signed telegraphically standstill agreements with Pakistan and later with India, was forced by the militant Hindu RSS and Akali Sikhs to create a situation favourable to India. The British officers commanding the army in Pakistan saw to it that no leadership was provided to the tribal bands.

The Maharaja was at last forced to "accede" to India. Immediately, India decided to fly in troops to Kashmir. A British general successfully arranged the airborne operation. The majority of Kashmir Muslims did not want to be "saved" by the Indian forces. The news of Indian air-borne "invasion" reached the late Mr. Jinnah on October 27 while he was in Lahore. It was reported that he telephoned Pakistan's British General Douglas Gracey to march Pakistani troops to Kashmir. The order was however "courteously" disobeyed in the "greater interest of Pakistan." Many Pakistanis believed that if the British general were to have obeyed the order of the late Mr. Jinnah, Kashmir would not have been under Indian occupation today. F.M. Auchinleck and Gen. Gracey successfully "persuaded" Pakistan's Governor-General to change his mind.

arms reached west Pakistan, and inflamed the fanatic tribesmen of the Frontier regions.

Amidst the chaos in Kashmir Maharaja Hari Singh released Sheikh Abdullah, the National Conference leader, without completing his term of sentence. Meanwhile the Azad Kashmir forces managed to reach the tribal areas for the much-needed guns and ammunition that were manufactured by cottage industry in the Kohat Valley. While in the tribal area they also narrated the story of the massacre of Kashmiri Muslims and the struggle for liberation from Dogra rule. The entire tribal area was enraged. The trigger-happy tribesmen decided to avenge the wrong done to their Muslim brethren in Kashmir.

The ferocious Mahsuds, Afridis, Wazirs, Mohmands, Bunerwals, Swatis made preparations for the march. The fruit-carrying trucks were utilized to convey tribesmen to Kashmir for "Jehad". The opposition by Frontier authorities was disregarded. The leaderless, adventurous tribal force marched into Kashmir on October 22. The Kashmiri troops could not check their advance. The victorious march of the uncontrollable tribesmen compelled even the vacillating ruler of Kashmir to take a quick decision. Srinagar was in "danger"!

Reaped Whirlwind

Lord Mountbatten and Indi-

Accession Repudiated

As mentioned earlier, Sheikh Abdullah was released from a long-term prison sentence. Impartial observers thought that the release of Sheikh Abdullah was some sort of a "price of accession" to India. Things were manipulated in such a way the Ruler of Kashmir Maharaja Hari Singh, who acceded to India, had to leave Srinagar and was forced to surrender his rights on June 20, 1949. Meanwhile the Government of Pakistan repudiated the Maharaja's accession to India on October 30 and characterized it as an accession "achieved through violence and fraud."

Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru, the Prime Minister of India, in a broadcast on November 2 said: "We are prepared when peace and law and order have been established to have a referendum in Kashmir under international auspices." Meanwhile Sheikh Abdullah was functioning as Prime Minister of Kashmir.

In the month of November the late Governor-General of Pakistan Mr. Jinnah suggested that the Governors-General of both India and Pakistan should issue a joint proclamation ordering the warring elements inside Kashmir to lay down arms within two days. If the Muslim tribesmen did not obey the armies of India and Pakistan should jointly take action against them. This proposal was unceremoniously rejected by the Indian Government. Since then India has been saying "no" to almost all suggestions put forward from different quarters.

By now India was consolidating its position in Kashmir. The leaderless tribesmen were beaten back by the Indian forces. Towards the end of the year the tribesmen were pushed back to Mirpur, Poonch and Kotli.

The Indian Army had reached Poonch. In the name of "acceded" Kashmir they were nearing Pakistan's border. Terror-stricken Kashmir Muslim refugees were pouring into Pakistan, seriously jeopardising the already slender resources of the young State, which had to start from scratch. Indian plans were not

To

1-4-54

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His Excellency the President of Indian Union,
Varanasi

May it please your Excellency,

In connection with the constitutional proposals which have been recently made by the J&K State authorities to the Central Government, this representation is most respectfully submitted on behalf of the Praja Parishad of that State for your Excellency's kind and sympathetic consideration.

II There is no doubt that these proposals constitute a little advance on the existing position. And, coming, as they do, in the wake of the decision of J&K Constituent Assembly to confirm and finalise the accession of this State to the Indian Union, they have been welcomed, not because they take us far towards our goal, but because they seem to have been conceived in a different spirit from that which animated the Abdullah Government.

III Amidst this chorus of praise it seems almost churlish to strike the jarring note of critical appraisal, but this is a duty which the Praja Parishad owes to the People whom it represents. They have consistently demanded that the Indian Constitution be made applicable to this State just as it applies to the other Part 'B' States. In the pursuit of this objective they have undergone great sacrifices and sufferings, being convinced that without achieving it, there can be no peaceful and honourable life for them in this State. They were led to entertain certain hopes by definite assurances, but these proposals do not come anywhere near their fulfilment. Consequently, the people affected by them have on the whole received them with mixed feelings including those of frustration.

IV In certain circles there is a tendency to dismiss the demand mentioned in the preceding paragraph as a problem for legalistic or academic discussion and to ignore its human aspects, but those who have raised it are indeed earnest about it. To them it is a matter of life and death; and they are

Continued sheet -2-

determined to persist in it regardless of the sufferings and sacrifices which this course might entail for them.

Y It is a pity that the Central Government have never enquired from the proper quarters why this demand is being made and how far it is justified. On the contrary, they have been more responsive to the opposite demand of the National Conference leaders, which is to the effect that this State should have a special privileged status different from that of the other 'Part 'B' State'. The wonder is that it has never occurred to the otherwise wise and able Central Government that, in the ultimate analysis, both these demands, so contradictory in their formulation and intent, really spring from similar apprehensions. But the fears of the Kashmiri leaders are wholly baseless, because admittedly they have received the most generous treatment from the Government and the people of India during the last six years and more. On the other hand, the apprehensions of the Jammu people are fully justified by the experience they have had of "So called Popular rule" during the same period. They have been reduced to the level of political untouchables in their homeland. Their genuine voice has been effectively shut out from the Constituent Assembly. The Government formed by the Conference Party is neither responsible, nor responsive, to Jammu people. The doors of Government services are closed to them, and those already in service are being pushed out. The administration is corrupt and inefficient and it is difficult for the common man to obtain redress in the ordinary course. Naturally the Jammu people seek the protection which some provisions of the Indian Constitution, and some organs of the Central authority, might possibly afford them. But the Kashmiri leaders desire to retain the best of both worlds; they demand autonomy for themselves in relation to the Central authorities of the Indian Union and at the same time they stick to undiluted autocracy in the shape of an unalterable fixed majority in relation to the Jammu people. In fairness they should accord the same treatment to the Jammu

as is demanded by them for themselves from the Indian Union. This legitimate demand of the Jammu people is sometimes ignored on the false plea that it is confined to reactionary, communalist, and vested interests.

VI The problem that has arisen between Jammu and Kashmir is essentially the same problem as has emerged between the whole State and the Indian Union. And fortunately it is also the problem that the Indian Constitution was devised to solve. Its wise framers were faced with the rival claims of competing elements in the body politic and they arrived at a nice adjustment of those claims in the frame work of that Constitution. This nice balance and adjustment makes it eminently fitted to provide a solution of the essentially human problem that faces us in this State. This is a strong reason why a solution of this problem should be attempted by applying the Indian Constitution in its entirety to this State.

VII Viewed against the above background the unsatisfactory character of the new proposals becomes quite apparent, in-as-much-as they disturb the nice balance of adjustments that the Indian Constitution in its entirety was intended to be. They mutilate its organic unity ~~irretrievably~~ without leaving a fair working arrangement. They seem to have been cleverly devised in order to achieve the following objectives, namely:-

- (1) To retain as much power as possible;
- (2) To part with as little of it as might be inevitable;
- (3) To let qualifications and exceptions swallow what is conceded;
- (4) To make the powers retained the close monopoly of an unalterable fixed majority; and
- (5) To ensure that the resulting set up shall not be altered without the consent of that majority.

VIII Some of the expedients adopted by the framers of these proposals in order to achieve the above objectives are mentioned below, viz

- (1) Fundamental rights have been wittled down and

- (2) The jurisdiction and powers of the Supreme Court have been curtailed to prevent effective enforcement of fundamental and other rights;
- (3) Full control over the State High Court has been retained in order that the local judiciary may not become truly independent and embarrass the executive authorities;
- (4) A sort of dual citizenship has been created, within the Indian Union to its eternal shame and humiliation
- (5) One way traffic from Pakistan in the matter of settlement within this State has been provided for;
- (6) Direct elections to the House of the People from the State have been avoided, in order that the authentic voice of the people of this State may not be heard even in the Indian Parliament;
- (7) The powers vested in the central organs of authority in the Indian Union in relation to the other "Part B States" have been curtailed even in matters of common and national interests where uniformity of action is necessary;
- (8) The status of the Sadr-i-Ryasat has been made inferior even to that of a Governor, and his position precarious by leaving him at the mercy of a prejudiced and an unalterable fixed majority in the local legislature;
- (9) Even the Delhi Pact has not been fully implemented;
- (10) Certain provisions of the Indian Constitution which are applicable to this State at present are proposed to be repealed;
- (11) The capacity and powers of the Indian Union to take prompt and effective action in relation to this State at times of emergency have been crippled;
- (12) Provisions relating to effective and independent audit and financial control have been omitted; and
- (13) Draconic and confiscatory "lawless" laws are

IX. There are several other objectional features of these proposals but it is unnecessary to detail them all. Some of them will, however, become apparent as the succeeding detailed scrutiny of the proposals proceeds. Enough has, however, been said to show that these proposals give no indication of its framers being grateful for the generous treatment which they have received. On the contrary they betray great distrust of the various organs of the Indian Central authority including the Parliament, the President and the Supreme Court.

X. Such an important matter as Constitution making should have been circulated for public opinion before being finally passed when it is an admitted fact that this Assembly is composed of one party alone. The Constitution should not have been conceived and hatched in a secret manner behind closed doors, without associating any person unconnected with the Government or the Assembly even in an advisory capacity at any stage of their formulation or consideration. These facts should persuade the Government of India to examine these proposals with special care and consult the Jammu opinion before accepting them finally.

XI. Some points calling for consideration which the detailed scrutiny of these proposals has revealed, are briefly noted below:-

(1) Article 3 of the Indian Constitution:-

The new ~~provision~~ proviso which it is proposed to add to this Article will in certain respects overlay the existing proviso.

(2) Part II of the Indian Constitution:-

This part is to apply to this State from January 26, 1950, but the State acceded to the Indian Union from October 26, 1947. What will be the status of the people of the State between these two dates. Will they be deemed to have been aliens during this interval

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(3) Article 7:-

It is proposed to add a new Provision to this article. Even Sheikh Mohammad Abdullah, Ex-Prime Minister of the State, knew that the policy underlying the proposed Provision might cause apprehensions in certain quarters. He tried to allay these fears in the Statement which he made before the State Assembly on August 11, 1952, in the following words:-

"It has been suggested in certain quarters that this protection has been provided only for those residents of the State who are at present stranded in Pakistan. I would like to make it clear, as I have stated earlier, that this protection will operate only when the conditions are normal and such conditions naturally presume that the resettlement of the dislocated population, whether Muslims or non-Muslims cannot be one sided or unilateral."

If such is still the intention it should be clearly and expressly stated in the Provision and not left buried in vague declaration of the Ex-Prime Minister. Secondly, as the new Provision will operate to confer Indian Citizenship, and also because its subject matter deals with, and affects, foreign relations, the law which is to regulate this matter should be enacted by the central, and not by the State Legislature. Thirdly, as the conditions are not likely to become normal in the near future, there need be no desperate hurry in adding this provision; it can be added when the conditions become normal. Lastly, it should be kept in view that that part of the Jammu and Kashmir State which is at present in the occupation of Pakistani Forces and which is sometimes misdescribed as the "Aked Kashmir territory," is not identical with, and should not, therefore be confused with the territory now included in Pakistan." The

Continued sheet -7-

framers of the proposed proviso have ignored this distinction. They probably had the former territory in view but have used the latter expression to describe it. They seem to have fallen into this error because they have copied blindly the language of the existing proviso without realizing that it becomes inaccurate in the context in which they have used it. In view of these complications, and also because there is no real urgency, it seems expedient to drop the idea of adding the proposed proviso to Article 7.

(4) Article 19 (Fundamental rights).

The practical effect of adding the new clause (7) to Article 19, as has been proposed, will be that for five years there will be no "fundamental" rights in the State, and thus what was intended to be granted under clause (1) will have been taken away under Clause (7) for that period. It is of the very essence of the "Fundamental" rights which are provided in the Indian Constitution, that the Legislature should not have the absolute power to impose such restrictions on their exercise as the courts consider to be unreasonable. If the Legislature is made the sole absolute judge of the reasonableness of any restrictions which it might deem fit to impose on their exercise, then such rights cease to be "Fundamental" and become ordinary legal rights. It would be a more honest way of dealing with this matter if the proposed clause (7) were to be worded as follows:-

"(7) For a period of five years those citizens of India who (unfortunately) happen also to be the permanent residents of the State of Jammu and Kashmir, shall not exercise the rights conferred under clause (1), except to the extent to which the legislature of the State may, in its absolute discretion, permit them to do so."

As the discretion is not to be "Judicial", it need not necessarily be judicious and may be capriciously exercised.

(5) Article 22 (Preventive detention)/

The proposed amendment is neither necessary nor fair; but, if it must be made, its duration should be limited to a period not exceeding five years.

(6) Article 31 (Property rights)

Clause (3) of this Article should not be omitted as has been proposed. In the first place, it provides a safeguard which certainly is not less necessary in the case of this State than it is for the rest of India. Secondly, in the matter of land reforms it is desirable to aim at a measure of uniformity. Thirdly, it is not clear why this clause is proposed to be omitted when the Proviso to clause (1) of Article 31-A is being retained, as both refer to similar matters.

(7) Article 31-A (Acquisition of Estates):

The proposed definition of " Estate " is needlessly and unfairly too wide. Secondly, the definition of "Estate" given in our law relating to land tenures (Tenancy Act) which is saved by the existing sub-clause (a) of clause (2) of Article 31-A could have served the purpose in view. Thirdly, it is undesirable to provide a fixed definition of "Estate" in the Constitution itself, because it may become necessary to vary the definition from time to time, or place to place, or in order to suit various purposes; but constitutions cannot be easily amended even when it becomes necessary to do so.

(8) Article 35-A (privileges of State " Subjects)

This article, if added, will create dual citizenship and retard the growth of common nationality and classless society. It will be a bar sinister on the Indian escutcheon and a disfiguring blot on the Indian constitution. Secondly if its addition is unavoidable in view of the present mood of the Kashmiri leaders, its duration should be limited to a period not exceeding five years. Thirdly, even in that case, sub-clause (iii) of Clause (b) should be omitted, because " settlement" is a vague term, and it is not at all clear what it is intended to include over and above that which is already covered by sub-clause (i), (ii) and (iv). Fourthly, it should

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be stipulated that subclause (iii) must not be used to impose new, or enlarge the existing, disabilities. Lastly . the saving grace of Article 35-A should be limited to existing laws, and should not cover laws imposing new, or enlarging the existing, disabilities.

(9) Part (iv) Article 36 to 51 (Directive Principles) .

If these articles are proposed to be omitted it is a matter for profound regret. These have been evolved after mature thought and long experience , and should guide the course of legislation and administrative action in every enlightened State, There should be no hesitation in adopting them because they are directory, and not mandatory in the sense of being justifiable.

(10) Articles 54, 55 and 81 (Parliamentary Elections)-

In the first place, it is unfair to deprive the people of the State of their right to choose by direct election their representatives in the House of the People. When direct elections were held for the State Assembly, electoral rolls were prepared on the basis of adult franchise. Such rolls can be prepared also for the Parliamentary elections. If the population of the State can be assumed to be 44,10,000 for purposes of Article 55, as has been proposed, there is no reason why the same figure should not be adopted for purposes of Article 81. , Secondly, it would be a misnomer to categorise the representatives of the State as " elected" members for purposes of Article 55, as has been proposed, when , at the same time it is being clearly provided under article 81, that they shall be "appointed" by the President. Their status will still be that that of " appointed " (i.e. nominated) members even though they might have been appointed on the recommendation of the State Legislature. At present they are " chosen by the President in consultation with the Government of the State" . But it is now proposed that " they shall be appointed by the President on the recommendation of the Legislature of the "State". It would be simpler to say that hereafter the representatives of this State in both the houses of Parliament shall

44,10,000. This figure is bound to vary frequently ^{but the} changes.
Constitution should not liable frequent changes
perhaps, the best expedient would be to make a temporary

This article is at present in force without any modification in this State by virtue of the Constitution (Application to Jammu and Kashmir) Order, 1950. But it is now

~~XX~~ (1) of this

(12) Article 136 (Special leave to appeal by the Supreme Court

Under Article 136 the Supreme Court is empowered to grant in its discretion. special leave to appeal before itself, but it is proposed to omit this article and deny this power to the that court in relation to this State. This would be a very unwise and serious omission. Without this power the extension of the jurisdiction of that Court to this State will remain illusory, and the people will not have full confidence and assurance that they are getting justice and protection of their -r rights like other citizens of India.

(13). Article 139 (Additional powers of the Suprem Court).

This article is applicable to this State at present but is now ~~is~~ proposed to repeal it. Obviously this is a retrograde step and should be avoided.

(14) Article 149 and 150 (Comptroller and Auditor General)

It is necessary to apply these articles to this State in the interest of sound financial administration and economy. as the present state of affairs in this respect is far from satisfactory. Secondly, such application becomes almost inescapable now that the State Government is going to get its share from the common pool of certain central taxes. As the taxes to be so shared are raised from the people of India as a whole, all of them as tax-payers are entitled to the assurance and protection which these articles are intended to supply. Thirdly, the Central Government would be failing in its duty if it did not satisfy that the funds supplied by it to the Government of this State were being utilized properly for the intended purposes. This duty the Government of India can discharge effectively only if these articles are applied to this State.

(15) Article 255

Article 255 applies to this State under the President's Application Order of 1950, but it is now proposed to omit it. There is no justification for such omission.

(16) Article 259.

Article 259 applies at present to this State subject to the specified modification, but it is now proposed to omit it altogether. The retention of this article is very necessary.

(17) Article 261.

The whole of this article applied at present to this State but it is now proposed to omit the words "made by Parliament" from clause (2) of it. This proposal seems to have been made in ignorance of the scope and purpose of clause (2). If the manner of, and the conditions for, proving public acts, records and judicial proceedings of the Union and of every State. (including the Jammu and Kashmir State) are to be regulated for the whole of India on a uniform basis, as they should be, evidently the only law that can do this effectively and appropriately is the law made by Parliament. Therefore, it is clearly to the advantage of all concerned that this article

should continue to apply without any modification to this State, as it does at present.

(18) Article 201 (Privy Purse Suma)

This article should be retained subject to certain obvious modifications.

(19) Part XVII (Official Language)

This part should be made applicable to the Jammu and Kashmir State for all purposes. Considering that Urdu is not the spoken language of any considerable section of the people in any part of the State, its imposition as the official or regional language of the State and as the medium of instruction in schools or in colleges, will not be fair. In any case, Hindi should have equal status with Urdu in this respect, if not throughout the State, at least in the Jammu Province. The medium of instruction in the Primary or basic classes should be the mother-tongue, but the guardians should have the option of declaring the mother tongue of their wards. In any case, whatever is adopted as the official or regional or mother-language in the State or any part of it. It should be permitted to be written both in Arabic and Hindi characters at the option of the persons concerned, and its teaching should be arranged and permitted in both characters.

(20) Part XVIII (Emergency powers)

It is proposed to omit Articles 356, 357 and 360 and to amend article 352. Under article 355 which is being retained, it is the duty of the Union to protect this State, not only against external aggression, but also against internal disturbance and also to ensure that the Government of this State is carried on in accordance with the provisions of the Constitution. The President of the Union will be deprived of the power to act effectively and promptly, in discharge of the duty imposed under article 355, if ^{articles 356, 357 & 360 are omitted} amended in the manner proposed. There should be no divorce between responsibility and power. This Part should apply to this State in its entirety without any modification.

(21) Part XIX Article 361 (Sader-i-Ryasat)

and article 352 is

There should be no confusion, vagueness or conflict about the position of the Sadar-i-Ryasat, but such is likely to be the result if reference is retained to the State constitution in the new clause (5) which it is proposed to add to this article. Keeping in view his position and functions, he should be free from local influences and harassment. Experience of the action he had to take in the recent emergency should suggest caution in this respect.

(22) Article 362.:- The retention of this article is necessary for reasons which are obvious.

(23) Article. 365.

It is necessary to retain this article if the powers of the Union Executive under the Constitution are real and not illusory; if it is not to be exposed to mockery and reduced to impotence in relation to this State; if, in the absence of an effective sanction, its lawful directions are not to be flouted with impunity; if its duties and responsibilities under Article 355 are to be carried out satisfactorily; and if the Government of the State is to be carried on in accordance with the provisions of the Constitution.

(24) Article 372

Article 372 makes mention of Article 365. This reference is inappropriate because Article 365 is proposed to be omitted.

(25) Article 374 (Advisory Board)

It is proposed to amend Clause (4) of Article 374 in order to provide for the abolition of the State Board of Judicial Advisors and the transfer the appeals pending before it for disposal to the Supreme Court of India, but this is likely to make matters worse in one respect. The Board's present jurisdiction is wider than that proposed to be conferred on the the Supreme Court. This will result in greater finality attaching to the decisions of the local Courts, because fewer appeals will lie to the Supreme Court than lie to the Board at present. Moreover, the appellate jurisdiction of the Supreme Court in relation to the Jammu and Kashmir Courts will not be as wide as that which it exercises in relation to the courts of the

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other States. The provisions contained in chapters V and VI of Part VI read with Part VII of the Indian Constitution relating to Judiciary are not being ~~now~~ made applicable to the judiciary of this State. It cannot, therefore, be pretended that the Judiciary of this State including its High Court will command the same measure of confidence and prestige which the judiciary of the other States commands. If the confidence of the people in the Justice administered in this State is not to be undermined, it is necessary that this State be brought up to the level of the level of the other States by applying to it all the provisions of the Indian Constitution relating to Judiciary just as they apply to the other ~~States~~ Part " B" States. At any rate the present position when the Advisory Board is functioning, is much better than that which will result from these proposals after the Board has been abolished.

(26) Article 387:-

This article should be retained until a new regular census has been completed in this State, because, until then, there should be some provision in the Constitution under which authoritative estimates of its population could be made, and varied from time to time, for purposes of elections. Of course some modification of this article will be necessary in its application to this State, because the three years' period mentioned in it has already expired. The estimate of 44,10,000 proposed for purposes of articles 54 and 55 cannot remain a fixed figure for all time, and will have to be changed from time to time, but it should not be necessary to amend the Constitution itself every time a correction of this figure becomes necessary.

(27) Schedule VII List I. Entry NO. 3

This entry at present applies to this State without any modification, but it is now proposed to curtail its scope considerably. There is no apparent reason to justify this course. The expression "administration of cantonments" is not wide enough to cover all the functions included in this entry. Evidently, the Army authorities need comprehensive powers in this respect. It should not be forgotten that this State is

-----15. SULARITY OF JAMMU
The all war area and these issues, armies are
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press reach other on its borders on

(28) Schedule VII, List I Entry No: 9

This entry is applicable to this State at present, but it is proposed to omit it altogether, without the slightest justification. It should be retained, because its subject matter is connected with Defence, Foreign Affairs, and the Security of India, which are the exclusive concern of the Union.

(29) Ninth Schedule

As many as six laws of this State are proposed to be included in this schedule. It is inequitable and unnecessary to protect some of these laws in this manner. In particular, the Distressed Debtors' Relief Act, the Alienation of Land Act and the whole of the Tenancy Act need not find a place in this Schedule.

Yours Faithfully.

Dated 1-4-54.

54/
(Prem Nath Dogra)
President
Jammu and Kashmir Praja Parishad

IRREGULARITIES IN JAMMU ELECTIONS

The following statement was issued to the press by Lt. Prem Nath Dogra, President of the Jammu Praja Parishad, at a press conference held in New Delhi on ~~XXXXXX~~ Saturday, Oct. 6:-

Friends,

1951

You must have read a lot about the elections to the Constituent Assembly of the Jammu and Kashmir State, but I feel that you have been given only one side of the picture. So, I would like to give you some facts about these elections and to leave it to you to judge for yourself in regard to the real situation in Jammu.

THE PRAJA PARISHAD

The Praja Parishad is the strongest political party of the people of Jammu for the past so many years, just as the "National Conference" has been of the people of Kashmir, but ever since the present administration has been set up in the State, there has been a regular campaign of vilification and harassment of the people of Jammu. It was against this maltreatment ~~two~~ two years back, which was withdrawn on the definite assurance that there would be no discrimination in treatment between the people of the two provinces of Jammu and Kashmir by the administration.

The Praja Parishad is not a communal organisation in any sense of the term, which fact becomes clear from the fact that it has on its membership rolls hundreds of Muslims. Some of them have been addressing public meetings from the Praja Parishad platform, but the government has adopted the tactics of dubbing these Muslim members of the Praja Parishad as Pakistanis, one of them was given a beating by the local officials, while another has been expelled from the State and is today staying in India.

Ever since the partition of India, the Praja Parishad has unequivocally stood for unconditional accession of the Jammu and Kashmir State to the Indian Union, while the National Conference has even till today not agreed to complete merger of the State to the Indian Union and wants defence, external affairs and communications alone to be controlled by the Central Government of India. Even in the present election, the Praja Parishad demands the application of the entire Indian Constitution to the Jammu and Kashmir State like all the other "B" and "C" Class States that have acceded to the Indian Union, while the National Conference wants a separate constitution for the ~~the National Conference wants a separate constitution for the~~ Jammu and Kashmir State for reasons best known to itself.

PRAJA PARISHAD VERSUS NATIONAL CONFERENCE.

From the above it is clear that there are fundamental and basic differences between the National Conference and the Praja Parishad over the question of the State's accession to the Indian Union; while the Praja Parishad stands for ~~xxx~~ unconditional accession to India, the National Conference has reservations in this regard and the conflicting statements and actions of the ~~xxxx~~ National Conference leaders during the last four years are to grave suspicions in the minds of the people of the State.

The present elections to the constituent Assembly of the Jammu & Kashmir State are also being fought on this very issue and that is the reason ~~why~~ why the National Conference has been making attempts to prevent the Praja Parishad from entering the Constituent Assembly.

With this ~~in~~ in view, the government, which is another name for the National Conference, is adopting all means, fair and foul, to prevent real representatives of the people from

entering the Constituent Assembly. It was a result of the policy that no opposition candidates dared to file their nomination papers in any of the 43 out of the 455 seats for the Assembly in Kashmir Province and the two candidates who did dare to file their nominations were compelled to withdraw them by undue pressure.

- 220 As regards Jammu Province, this intimidation on the part of the National Conference - cum Government could not succeed as the Praja Parishad is the strongest political organization of this province for so many years past and the National Conference has not even existed, its activities having been confined ever since 1922 when it was borne as the Kashmir Muslim Conference to the Kashmir valley alone. So attempts are being made according to a well laid plan to prevent the Praja Parishad from having any effective voice in the Constituent Assembly.

TACTICS ADOPTED

The first thing the National Conference government did was to decide not to hold elections in the provinces of Kashmir and Jammu simultaneously. Every body was surprised to find that while the nominations were being filed in the Kashmir valley even the final voters lists had not been made public for Jammu province. It was after the "unopposed elections" of the National conference candidates had been announced in Kashmir, that the dates for nominations in Jammu province were announced with the deliberate intentions of influencing the elections in Jammu.

IRREGULAR DELIMITATIONS

Another tactic adopted against the Praja Parishad was that the Parishad was given no representation on the Delimitation Committee although at first the Praja Parishad was assured that its representatives would be associated with the Committee but later this was not done, with the result that the delimitation of the constituencies as fixed by the delimitation Committee are altogether opposed to the principles of contiguity compactness of the areas as the bases of delimitation Committee with a view to benefit the party in power.

The following specific instances will be sufficient to prove the above contention of the Praja Parishad:-

✓ 1. While fixing the constituencies for the city of Jammu, Jammu Patwar, which is contiguous with Jammu city, was split up and a major portion of it was taken to be Kolma Chak constituency in Jammu tehsil, while the remainder was attached to the southern constituency of Jammu city to which was also added the Bahu Patwar on the other side of the river Tawi. A protest meeting against this unnatural delimitation was held and a resolution was adopted and sent to the Government on September 8th, 1951 but with no result.

2. Sari Patwar, across the river Bhini, which is a natural part of Bachel constituency was cut off from this constituency and was attached to the Billawar Constituency, because this Patwar was taken to be in favour of the National conference candidates standing from the Billawar constituency. This division is quite un-natural and deliberately partial.

NO GENERAL SEATS IN 3 CONSTITUENCIES

The third method adopted against Praja Parishad was that the areas where Parishad was the strongest have been debarred from ~~nominating~~ sending any candidates other than members of the scheduled castes, although the population of scheduled caste members there was comparatively very small. In India scheduled castes and tribes have been given seats in addition to general seats, but not the rest of general electorate, except

X. in Jammu Province was carried out in such an arbitrary way that all the strongholds of leading members of the P.P. were broken up into fragments. The constituencies

in those areas where the entire population has consisted of such caste and tribes, but in Jammu the delimitation Committee has set apart three constituencies of Reasi Kahna Chak and Bishma, for the Harijans only. If instead of these constituencies ^{being} reserved ~~the~~ three seats had been set apart for these Harijans in addition to general seats, there would have been no injustice to the general electorate, which has thus been barred from being represented in the Constituent Assembly, although ~~high~~ ^{high} ~~form~~ majority of the population in all these areas.

The most glaring instance of the unfair delimitation of the constituencies was the one in regard to Kishtwar which has the largest population of Harijans as no representation has been given to Harijans there, the reason is simple. The Harijan candidate of the Praja Parishad in this area Mr. Jagat Ram Arya was sure to get elected ~~while~~ ^{with} an overwhelming majority. He was a member of the Jammu Praja Parishad Sabha or the Legislative Assembly of the state last time. The government first tried to win him over to the side of national conference. On his refusal he was arrested and sent to Jail. He was however ordered to be released by the High Court as a result of a habeas corpus application. The Government then banned his entry into his home district of Kishtwar, by interning him in Srinagar, when there were protests against this allround. The Delimitation Committee debarred Kishtwar from returning a Harijan Candidate, thus making it impossible for the Praja Parishad candidate Mr. Jagat Ram Arya, from being elected to Constituent Assembly.

The praja Parishad protested against these injustices, but to no effect.

OUT OF THE WAY POLLING STATIONS

The fourth handicap put in the way of the Praja Parishad coming out successful was to fix the polling stations at out of the way places, where the National Conference, Government resources alone could carry the voters, and not the central places.

41 OUT OF 65 NOMINATIONS REJECTED

The fifth and the most atrocious attempt that was made against the praja Parishad was that no less than 41 out of the 65 nominations filed by the Praja Parishad for 27 of the 30 seats from the Jammu province were rejected on the most flimsy grounds, while not a single nomination paper of any National Conference Candidate was rejected, although the Praja Parishad filed very serious objections against a number of them.

As the Praja Parishad had expected trouble in connection with the nominations, it had taken the precautions of filling the nominations of more than one candidate from 24 constituencies and in some places the number ~~the number~~ of the Parishad nominations was even 3 & 4 but determined as the returning officers were not to let the praja parishad contest these seats, all the 2 or 3 or 4 nominations of the parishad candidate were rejected on one ground or the other. The details of the rejection of these nomination papers would therefore prove very interesting and deserve to be mentioned in some detail.

1. In the Bilawar constituency, four nominations were filed for Bhyan Singh Tara Chand, Thakur Dass and Ram Chand. All the four nomination papers were rejected on the ground that the ~~papers~~ ^{proposers} and seconders of these candidates were not able to produce state subject certificates, though no such condition ~~was~~ ^{is} necessary according to the election rules.

As against this, the nomination papers of the National Conference candidate named Ram Chandra Khajuria was accepted although his proposer and seconder too could not produce any state subject certificates and in addition his name was entered in the official electoral roll as Amar Chand and not as Ram Chandra.

2. For the Hiranagar ~~the~~ constituency, The Parishad filed three nomination papers for Baldev Singh, Rudra Nani, Ram Dutt

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Jawala Prakash. The nominations of the first three choices were rejected on the same basis of the State Subject Certificate and that of the last named candidate alone was accepted as the returning officer said he personally knew the proposer and the seconder.

For the Basohali constituency, the Pra-prashid filled three nomination papers in the name of Tara Chand, Jagdish Sharma and Ramchand. The nominations of the first two were rejected on the same ground of the State Subject certificate, but the nomination of Mr. Ramchand was rejected on the plea that ~~he~~ he was a Government servant, although he had brought with him his resignation letter duly accepted by his officer. This resignation was not considered sufficient.

As against this, the nomination paper of the National Conference candidate, Mahant Ram, was accepted as valid, although he had not attached with his nomination the form of declaration specifying his election agent, the filling of which was compulsory for all candidates.

4. For the Kathua constituency, the Parishad had set up no less than five candidates named Chagar Singh Surindra Nath, Prithvi Singh, Ranjit Singh and Vidya Prakash. The nominations of the first two were rejected on the same plea of State Subject Certificate. The nominations of Prithvi Singh and Ranjit Singh were rejected on the ground that they had been arrested in connection with the political movement in Jammu. The nomination of the fifth candidate was alone accepted as no fault could be found with his nomination paper.

As against this, the nomination paper of the National Conference candidate, Maj. Piyar Singh, was held valid, although he had not attached with the necessary declaration as required by the rules.

5. For the Rannagar constituency, three nomination papers were filled by the Praja Parishad for Hans Raj, Amrit Sagar and Shiv Charan.

The nomination paper of Hansraj was rejected on the plea that he was not sure of his serial number on the official electoral roll. According to the original electoral roll his No. appeared to be 490, but in the revised list it was 491. As a precaution, he filled two separate nomination papers, one giving the number as 490 and the other 491, but both were rejected on the ground that the candidate was not sure of his serial number.

The nomination paper of Amrit Sagar was rejected on the plea that he ~~was~~ not able to produce a certified copy of his entry in the electoral roll, although he carried an official copy of the roll which contained his name.

The nomination paper of Shiv Charan was rejected on the plea that the name entered in the electoral roll was L. ~~Shiva~~ Shiva Charan, while the nomination paper merely stated Shiva Charan even though the father's name and all other particulars tallied fully.

As against this, the nomination paper of the National Conference candidate, L. Hans Raj, was held as valid, although his name ~~was~~ entered as L. Hans Raj.

In addition, the nomination paper of Raghunath Singh and Bhavantar Singh from the Samba Constituency, of Shiv Lal from R.S. Pura and Sham Lal from Aldnoor and other were rejected on the basis of clerical mistakes or minor printing errors. The nomination paper of Bharam Paul, a Praja Parishad candidate, was first accepted for the R.S. Pura constituency but he was later beaten and made to withdraw it.

FAVOUR TOWARDS THE NATIONAL CONFERENCE CANDIDATES

Compared to these impediments put in the way of the Praja Parishad candidates, the way the National Conference candidates were favoured is illustrated by the following:-

name of Sharimati Ram Dei, who had been set up in the
conference for the Jammu city southern constituency appeared
electoral roll as Mrs. Brigadier Ranjindra Singh and not as
still her nomination paper was accepted.

The name of the National Conference candidates from Samba
named Sagra Singh as well as that of his secondor did not tally
with the entries in the electoral roll. Even then his nomination
paper was held valid.

The father's name of Ghalla Singh, the National Conference
candidate from the Chhamb constituency, according to the State-subject
certificate is Barito, but in the electoral roll it was entered as
Briti Singh. In addition, he is a Jat in the State-subject
certificate, but is entered as a Sikh in the electoral roll. Still,
his nomination was held valid.

Although the election rules laid down that the objections on
all nomination papers should be decided on one and the same day,
in Kathua constituency, they were held over for the second day on the
plea that both the presiding officers had fallen ill simultaneously,
with a view to help the National Conference candidates.

The above instances are only illustrated and not exhaustive.
How for the elections in Jammu can be fair and free can easily be
made out from these.

OFFICIAL INTERFERENCE

In addition to this, the entire administrative machinery of
the National Conference Government has been geared to carry on
propaganda of the most malicious type against the Praja Parishad,
under the direct supervision of the Dy. Prime Minister of the State,
who has been touring the Jammu province, threatening and
intimidating the people against supporting the Parishad.

The Deputy Commissioner of Kathua, accompanied by the Minister
Sh. Giridhari Lal Bagra has been touring and addressing the public
meetings in favour of the National Conference candidates. He has
cancelled the arms licences of many people in the border areas who
did not support the national conference candidates and gave green
licences to those who opposed the Praja-parishad.

In the same way, the Tehsildar, and the Naib-tehsildar of
Ramnagar have been doing open propaganda work in favour of the
National Conference against the Praja-parishad.

The above are some of handicaps which make it impossible for
the Praja-parishad to have a fair deal in these elections.

MR. GOPALSWAMI AYYANGAR HELPLESS

I came to meet the Minister of States, Mr. N. Gopalaswami Ayyangar,
to point out to him all these irregularities in the hope that he
would be able to secure a fair deal for the Praja Parishad in Jammu,
but I regret to find that beyond some vague assurances,
he has not been able to assure me that the Praja Parishad could
expect justice and fair play in these elections.

IMPARTIALITY NECESSARY

If the Government of India and the State Government want the
formation of a truly representative constituent assembly for the
Jammu and Kashmir State, the least they must do is:-

1. To hold an independent, Judicial enquiry to the rejection of
the nomination paper of the Praja-parishad candidates, thereby
enabling the Praja-parishad to contest in all the 27 constituencies
from where it had originally set up its candidates.

2. To appoint some supreme court Judge to conduct the elections in
Jammu, to assure perfect impartiality.

3.

To prevent Government servants from working for candidates of
any party in the state.

Narian Dass letter to the Editors The
~~National~~ Tribune Ambalga cantt.
29/4/53.

page 34 after the statement dated
18/4/53

Dated, Delhi, the 22nd May 1952

Respected Pandit Ji,

I am pained to read the reply sent on your behalf by your Private Secretary to my request for an interview. Your charge that I gave wrong impression to people about my last interview with you, I am sorry to say, is based on absolutely wrong information supplied to you by interested quarters which are also responsible for creating misunderstanding about the Praja Parishad.

In view of the difficult phase through which Kashmir problem is passing I feel it necessary to remove the misunderstanding in your mind about myself and my organization. I claim to have the interests of India and the State at my heart no less than any body else. I therefore request your honour to give me an opportunity to meet you in person to remove the misunderstandings. That I feel is necessary in the best interest of both India and the State.

37

Jammu & Kashmir Praja Parishad

Central Office: JAMMU.

जम्मू एण्ड कश्मीर प्रजा परिषद

केन्द्रीय-कार्यालय : जम्मू ।

DATED... 1. 2. 54

My Dear Bakshi Sahib,

This is to remind you of my talks with you earlier wherein you extended to me certain assurances in respect of the framing of a constitution for the State.

The question of the constitutional set up in the State and its relationship with India is of vital importance to us as a political party and as representatives of the Jammu Province. We would, therefore, like to be associated with the constitutional discussions. It is, however, not our intention to embarrass you or to add to your difficulties. But we should be failing in our duty to the people here and in India if we do not exercise our democratic right to impress upon you the aspirations of the Jammu people and to urge you to incorporate their views and demands in suitable terms in the constitution of the State.

I would, therefore, feel obliged if you give an opportunity to discuss things with you in order that we may come to a unanimous agreement on the constitutional question.

Jammu & Kashmir Praja Parishad

Central Office : JAMMU.

जम्मू एण्ड कश्मीर प्रजा परिषद

केन्द्रीय-कार्यालय : जम्मू ।

0.....

DATED.....

Such an interview shall moreover, lead to the lessening of internal tensions and pave the way for smooth acceptance of the decision proposed to be taken.

I can assure you that I shall always endeavour to reach reasonable compromise so that we can pull jointly through this national crisis. I am also of the view that Government also on its part should not do things in a way that makes our position difficult before people.

Yours Sincerely,



(Prem Nath Dogra)

Honble Bakhshi Ghulam Mohd,

Prime Minister,

Jammu and Kashmir Government,

Jammu.

President, Praja Parishad,

FOLLOWING IS THE FULL TEXT OF THE STATEMENT ISSUED BY
SHREE DURGA DAS VERMA GENERAL SECRETARY OF PRAJA PRADESH
J_A_M_M_U. ON 26-1-1953.

Whereas I hesitated to react over the recent utterance of Pt. Nehru and Sheikh Abdullah as except acknowledging "legitimate economic grievances of the Jammu people" the remarks passed and motives attributed by the two leaders to the existing mass unrest in the state showed little desire on their part to meet or consider the fundamental demand of the State people to be one with India; the political capital that certain opportunists have hastened to make out from these makes it imperative for me to express our view-point unequivocally.

While we consider the timely reference to the deteriorating economic condition of the masses by so exalted a personality like Pt Nehru, who has closely concerned himself with this unhappy affair, a step forward and that we are really heartened to note this welcome change in the Government of India's attitude; but the institution of an commission to go into the economic side of the causes of present discontent and to recommend ways and means for its removal, as suggested by some self-installed groups, is tantamount to the gross betrayal of the real urge of the people.

Ever since, in accomplishment of our cherished mission to effect the unconditional accession of the State with Bharat on the confidence of the unquestionable support of the masses, we have had to warn the struggling people not to be hoodwinked by such piece-meal manoeuvres of the ruling clique. In the context of present events it is my considered opinion that the exceptional and disciplined mass-uprising has dewinded the ~~funx~~ fraudulent mansion of the party-in-power. All encounters and shameless attempts hither-to employed without least regard for democratic decency to create dissensions in the united front, the masses have so eloquently staged, the rulers of the state in their vain attempt to divert and confuse the public mind have taken recourse to such undemocratic tactics. It is their last bid to foil the determined effort of the suffering millions.

Economic distress apart, the political dead lock between the people of Jammu and the party-in-power has reached a stage, where these eye-wash measures are likely to aggravate further.

tyrannical rule of one party dictatorship, we look upon them as part of the suffering people. The Government by resorting to such propaganda want to shift the outcome of its erroneous policies over us.

In all humility I call upon every Kashmiri, whenever he is to understand the true perspective of our life and death struggle launched for (1) full and unconditional accession to India (2) application of Indian constitution and Indian flag over the State.

viewing on this plan there is nothing provincial or communal in it. Every patriot having faith in the secular constitution of India must extend all possible to our movement. Mutual distrust at this juncture of our country is highly -- deplorable. There lies the salvation of the state.

Durga Das Verma

(Durga Das Verma)

GENERAL SECRETARY

ALL JAMMU & KASHMIR PEASANT PARISHAD
JAMMU

To

The Hon'ble Prime Minister,
Jammu and Kashmir Government,
Jammu.

Sir,

We the undersigned beg to state that from a perusal of a statement published in the issue of the Indian News Chronicle dated the 20th March 1950 we have come to know that the Jammu and Kashmir Government is going to become the proprietor of the land and also that land will be acquired without paying any compensation and also that no holder will possess land more than an economic holding prescribed for the purpose, and that any land found in excess will be taken by the Government and distributed to tillers.

In this connection we beg to submit that residential plots purchased in the areas known as R_njbagh, Burzala Bhagat, Batwara, Sheopura, Boulevard Road, Nishat Road, Nagin Bagh, Nasim Bagh, Pahalgam, Gulmarg, Baramulla, Behari Jammu and Nawabad Jammu are very costly plots in as much as they have been purchased at prices ranging from Rs. 500/- per kanal to Rs. 4000/- per kanal. In this way people have spent several lacs of rupees on the purchase of these plots and some have even incurred very heavy amount of debt in purchasing these plots. These residential plots, due to the adverse political situation of the country and also due to acute dearth of building material and the great financial stringency which the country is facing at present, have not been inhabited and the plots are lying vacant and are being tilled temporarily by tenants. If these plots are treated as an agricultural land and are acquired by the Government without paying any cost etc. it will mean a terrible loss to the proprietors and in some cases it will result in a complete ruin of those people who have made huge investment there by raising heavy amount of debt. All the above noted areas fall within the proposed Municipal limits of Srinagar

and Jammu. It ~~is~~ is therefore requested that the residential plots which lie in the above mentioned localities may kindly be exempted from the operation of this law and people may on the other hand be encouraged in building houses thereon by adequately laying out the area which would result in a decent and healthy extension of Srinagar and Jammu cities. Such a step would remove the congestion of the city and also solve the house problem which is worrying a great deal in these days due to the movement of refugees from one place to another.

The Government of India have definitely laid down in the Indian Constitution that no property will henceforth be acquired without paying proper compensation. Government of India are accordingly paying compensation in all the Provinces where the new Zamindari Bill has been introduced. People have spent crores of rupees on the purchase of agricultural land in the State and some have even spent their whole life earning in this connection. To deprive them from this well earned property without paying any compensation would simply bring ruin and disaster to the people who have invested money in land. If people are granted compensation they will be able to utilize money in some other manner and to take up some other pursuits. It is therefore requested that the Government should take up the question of the grant of suitable compensation because otherwise it will be clearly high handedness on the part of Government which cannot be expected from any civilised Government.

Land

It is also submitted that the economic holding of 12 acres and 8 acres fixed for lands in Jammu Province and Kashmir Province respectively is a very small one and no zamindar who mainly depends on his agricultural produce can meet his domestic expenses as regards feeding, education, marriage etc. The return of Jammu land is very poor and it has been experienced that people cannot even meet their domestic expenses out of 50 acres and 100 acres. Thus if the land-lords

are restricted and not allowed to utilize their total land they and their kith and kin will have to simply starve and beg from door to door. The Government instead of raising the standard of living of people will on the other hand lower the standard and finish it completely. It is therefore requested that in order to avoid such a bad situation the area of economic holding may kindly be fixed with due regard to the necessity of family members which one has to feed. The necessity of future generation may also be kept in view. It is worth consideration how will the sons be able to meet their requirement after the death of their father who possess 12 acres of land and when every one of them has got sufficient family to feed. The answer is self evident.

Again if the Government wants to take the whole land it should also meet the liabilities of the people and also make suitable arrangements for meeting all necessary expenses of the family. It is therefore requested that Kashmir Government should take action in this respect similar to Government of India.

Lastly the request is briefly summarised as under:-

(1) That the residential plots purchased by people at considerable cost may be exempted from the operation of this law.

(2) That the area of economic holding may be raised so as to meet the full requirement of the family.

(3) That the Government should give suitable compensation so that the people may be able to get some amount of their investment to do some other work and earn their livelihood in that manner.

We cannot help without remarking that the introduction of land reforms in the State at the present moment when the people are working in uncertain conditions and are very much handicapped in many respects is quite inopportune. At present there is much economic depression and it has become

4.

impossible to live even. Foremost attention of the Government should be for the restoration of peaceful conditions in the State and not for creating more disorder friction and lawlessness. All that has been stated is a plain fact and can be verified by facts and figures.

Jammu, the
April, 1950.

Yours faithfully,

Land-lords.

The Jammu and Kashmir state being an integral part of Bharat from times immemorial the people of the state are indissolubly linked with other Bhartiyas so far as their traditions political, cultural and economic life is concerned.

In the year 1947 due to the barbarous attack of Pakistan on the state of Jammu and Kashmir, Sheikh Abdullah was brought into power much less by force of circumstances, but much more by bond of true love of Pandit Nehru. This Sheikh, as you all now know with the help of his communal and selfish party men started the game bargaining both with Pakistan, who plundered the wealth, modesty and beauty of our mother land, and with India, who actually brought him out of Jail and brought him to this exalted position of Prime Ministership of J&K state. This fact influenced the rather timid leaders of India to appease and grant a special status to this state where communists and communalists gained power day by day.

Intoxicated with power, this ruling clique, instead of developing the state, engaged themselves in making fortunes for themselves and their kith and kin and their party men. In order to have a free hand in the state affairs they manipulated to make the state a separate independent unit. Their unchecked dictatorial powers were used to ~~support~~ suppress the civil liberties of the people by enacting repressive laws of the dark ages. Corruption, partiality and nepotism became rampant everywhere. Things came to such a dangerous pass that Praja Parishad had to give them a tough fight. Thrice the innocent Dogras were mercilessly belaboured, children teargassed and women folk molested. All this did not quench their thirst but during the last Praja Parishad Satyagrah precious young lives of 15 Dogras brave men were sacrificed to unfold their natorius plans. Their last and severest blow was on the brightest gem of Bharat Mata.

From the very beginning of its regime the National Conference had a very bad record of unfair practices. In the last general Elections it again came to power through their very means of brute force and illegally ~~receiving~~ rejecting Nomination papers of Praja Parishad candidates, and prepared a separate constitution

for the state to perpetuate separatistic mentality.

Constitution

In the opinion of the Praja parishad , and view of the present critical international situation when the two strong blocks of the world are greedily manovering for having the state as their strategical point for the impending war, and its case in the Security Council is being mishandled by interested persons. This sepearte constitution will only encourage fissiparous tendencies by keeping alive a feeling of seperatism and ~~analityx~~ duality between the state and the rest of India. The dominating influence of communists and communalists in the state Govt. helps to support the above idea and is a matter of grave anxiety. Under such circumstances maintaining of colidarity and neutral can hardly be expected.

Such an atmosphere in the state of this juncture is very dangerous and requires a strong remedial measure to set it right.

It is therefore very essential that the state should be brought fully under the constitution of India by repealing the Articls 370 of the constitution . This will create a sense of security among the faithful elements of the State and demoralize the unpatriotic groups .

In these times when war have no discrimination regarding boundaries and peoples it goes without saying that patriatism, moral and discipline of the nation prove to be more urgent and necessary than Military power alone. Along with the explosive ~~xxxxxxxx~~ situation in the State the administration is also corrupt and bad. The last general Elections Municipality ~~xxxxxx~~ elections bear ample proof of this moral degradation of the party in power. The public in generally prone to follow the rulers and if the public also copies the ruling party in the state then both the Govt. and the public are doomed.

Thinking rationally and realistically the conclusion we came to is that the development and high character and feeling the spirit of patriotism are the most essential necessities only true education can solve this problem. The present system of education has caused deterioration in charactor and produced misguided vane and desperate money seekers charactor is even

more important than the vigour of body keenness of intellect so there is need for imparting proper religious (spiritual) instruction

For more than a couple of months now the Praja Parishad has been carrying on an agitation in Jammu, which has resulted in a wide spread disruption of the normal life of the community on the one hand, and police firings, lathi charges and arrests on the other.. There will be general agreement that this state of affairs cannot be allowed to continue without doing lasting injury to the State. But it is equally clear, from the look of things, that it cannot be brought to an end by the kind of administrative action that the Government of the state are rightly taking to maintain law and order. While there should be no let up in this direction, there is a case for simultaneous moves for conciliation on the political plane by a proper understanding of the grievance behind this movement. Whatever the origin of the agitation, it has taken the form of a demand for the cutting off of the province of Jammu from the State and its integration with India. This clearly is impossible at this juncture if only because the Government of India would not consider it for a moment. In so far as it is based on the fact that the population of Jammu is predominantly non-Muslim it asks for the acceptance of the two nation theory against which Indian leaders have set their face, especially in regard to Kashmir. But that is not all there is to it. The Parishad leaders claim with some justification that the demand for partition has been forced on them because of certain recent developments in the set-up of the new regime in the state. They point out that, while the leaders of the ruling party in Kashmir, the National Conference, have been saying that the accession of the state to India is complete,, they have also been claiming that the autonomy of the State will continue unimpaired. They have that latter view carried greater weight with the National Conference, by pointing out that even the compromise formula arrived at between the Government of Kashmir and India as to the special constitutional position conceded to that State has been implemented only to the extent that it reflects the difference between Kashmir and the other Indian States which have acceded to India. Thus as laid down in the Indo-Kashmir agreement of July last, hereditary

rule has been abolished and a distinctive State flag has been adopted. But the other items in the Agreement, such as financial integration and the acceptance of the jurisdiction of the Supreme Court of India have not been taken up for early implementation by the State Government. And these are the very points which have a special appeal to the people of Jammu. Being in a minority with reference to the whole of the State, they regard these provisions as a safeguard for the protection of their fundamental constitutional and economic interests.

But the immediate cause of the present discontent appears to be based on the economic conditions which have marked the province out as a depressed area for a long time. Apparently the measures taken in recent times by the Government have not convinced the local population that there will be a change for the better in the condition of life, which a recent press note by the State Government described as "the wretchedness, poverty and degradation of the vast masses of the Jammu people". Finally, there is a large psychological element that bedevils the relationship between the new regime and the Dogra population of Jammu. An observer who has no affiliations either way has summed up the delicate situation thus: "Sheikh Abdullah's regular thrusts at Dogra rule only increase irritation in Jammu. Whether he is conscious of it or not, the State Premier's attitude on Jammu breeds suspicion and distrust among people who regard themselves as dispossessed and out of favour". We mention this because everything has to be taken into account in finding a long-term settlement. It is significant that twenty prominent citizens of Jammu who are not members of either the Parishad or the National Conference have urged the State Government to "understand the right demands of the people". The signatories to the appeal include a former Minister of Finance and Home Affairs, a former Governor of Gilgit and the President of the Jammu Chamber of Commerce. Expressing the fear that, if the grave situation is not met speedily, the State's integrity would be jeopardised, they point out the inadequacy of suppressive measures alone. Fortunately Sheikh Abdullah's recent statement on the situation in

Jammu shows a welcome awareness of this fact. My Government", he said, "wants victory over the hearts of Jammu province. We realise that this victory cannot be achieved by force". Doubtless Sheikh Abdullah will, during his forthcoming visit to Hyderabad, take counsel with Mr. Nehru and other Indian leaders as to the best means of achieving this larger victory.

Br Jammu

Mhesh chander Sharma R. Chand Gupta

2. Bälöwar (Tehsil Basholi)

3. Kathua (Tehsil Kathua) Vidya Prakash Pada

4. " " Ranjit Singh 2nd

5. " " Surzindar Nath Debhat 2nd

6. " " Prithi Singh B.A.LL.B.

7. " " Chasa Singh.

8. Jusmergarh (Tehsil Jas) Rudar Mani 2nd

9. " " Baldev Singh Jasrotia 1st

10. " " J.P. Gupta

11. " " Ram Datt Vasishta Sharma

12. Tehsil Samba Sulochan Singh

13. " Mulkh Raj Pargal

14. " " Jaswant Singh

15. " " Raghnunath Singh

16. " " Jainsingh Major

17. " " Pt. Prem Nath Jee Dogra. Lower 1st

17. Rainbirsinghpura

Shri Lal
Sharan Paul
Ran. Katta

18. Bishma Tehsil R.S. Para Shiv Lal

Gurukul
Kachhman
Jyoti

Br

Jammu City (South)

Vaishnool Gupta

Pt. Man nath ji

L. Surja Dass

L. Chetru Ram

Metta Shemsher Bahadur

L. Haveli Ram

21. Kahna chak Tehsil Jammu.

Arta Singh

22. Jandrab Tehsil Jammu.

Dr. Om Prakash

Nagla

Rai Pur

Kandi, Jandrab

Sh. Shemsher Singh 2nd.

Sh. Hargobind Singh 1st

Surja Dass

23. Akhnoor Tehsil Akhnoor

Sain Singh (Westren Akhnoor) 1st

24. " "

Pt: Shyam Lal sharma ✓
(Westren Akhnoor)

25. " "

Badri Nath ✓ 2nd
(Westren Akhnoor)

26. " "

Rajinder Singh ✓
(Westren Akhnoor)

27. " "

Shanti Sarup ✓
(Westren Akhnoor)

28. " "

Hansraj Bali Chamb ✓ 2nd
(Westren Akh:)

29. " "

Anant Ram Plead ✓
(Eastren Akh:)

30. " "

31. " "

Pt: Shyam Lal sharma ✓ 1st
(Eastren Akh:)

32. " "

Krishan Lal Contractor }
(Eastren Akh:)

3. " "

Gayan Chand Shopkeeper.

4 (a) Nowshera Teh: Newshera

Ram Lal ✓

4 (b) " " "

Jshar Dass

4 (c) " " "

Shiv Dass

36. Darhal Teh: Rajouri

37. Mehndhar Teh: Mehndhar

38. Poonch Teh: Hawali

Dya Nand

39. Poonch for refugee only

40. Ramnagar Teh: Ramnagar

Natha Singh

42. " "

Hans Raj

1st Charan

43. " "

Amrit Sagar

44. " "

Shiv Charan *2nd*

45. Udhampur Teh: Udhampur

Hans Raj

46. " "

Amrit Sagar

47. " "

Dina Nath Gandotra ✓

48. " "

Hari Ram

49. " "

Shiv Charan ✓

50. " "

Des Raj Gable ✓

Pures Ram Gable

Gauri Charan Sharma

47. Landar Teh: Udhampur

52. Reasi (Teh: Reasi)

Hem Raj Gandotra B.A.

49. " "

Dina Nath Nargotra

50. " *Armed*

Onkar Singh Captain

51. Halqua Election combined (Teh Reasi)

Rikhi Kesh

52. " " No:4. "

" "

Rikhi Kesh

5. Ramban Teh: Ramban)

*Ram
Jagat Prasad*

PANDIT PREM

(Teh: Ramban)

Lebhu Ram Gupta

DELIVERY

ALL JAMMU

NCI

Brot'

~~Dr. Shadi Lal~~ Dr. Shadi Lal ✓

Th. Sant Singh ✓

55. Kishtawar (Teh: Kisht:)

Jaget Ram Nyan ✓

Th. Sant Ram ✓

56. Bhadarwah (Teh: Bhadarwah)

Swami Raj wakil 18- ✓

57. " " "

Kotwal Kirpa Ram

58. " " "

Iqbal Kirshan Vakil

58. Bhalg Bounjwal Teh: Bhadarwah

Th. Ram Shri Singh Chaud ✓

Th. Ramna Lal ✓

W. Shankar Lal ✓

ahmi

FOLLOWING IS THE FULL TEXT OF THE PRESIDENTIAL ADDRESS DELIVERED BY
PANDIT PREM NATH JI DOGRA, IN THE MEETING OF THE GENERAL COUNCIL OF
ALL JAMMU & KASHMIR PRAJA PARISHAD ON 6 - 9 - 53.

=====

Brother Delegates,

We are meeting after about an year of momentous events; It was on the 8th of August last year that we met here in convention to chalk out our course of action to checkmate the policies of separatism which were tending to make Jammu & Kashmir an independent state with separate flag, separate constitution and a separate head. We pointed out the dangers of that policy and pleaded with the Government of India to put a stop to it, which, we warned them will spell disaster both for the state and the rest of India.

On the occasion we had the privilege of having with us that noblest and bravest of the sons of mother India who has since made the supreme sacrifice by laying down his life for our cause which he had the foresight to realise was the cause of India's Unity. How we wish that he had been with us today here to guide our deliberations. Our hearts are heavy with grief. But we have to go ahead to complete his mission and that alone will be our real tribute to that great martyr.

Dr. Shyama Prasad Mookerjee on that occasion counselled us patience and he promised us that he would use his good offices to make the Government of India see the dangers of their policy in Kashmir. He made heroic and persistent efforts to do so. We too made further efforts to catch the ears of the powers that be in Delhi. We implored them to give us at least a hearing. But could not rise above his prejudices and he was ill advised to treat us, who are his compatriots and country men, as worse than political untouchables. we

In these circumstances were forced to take resort to the path of self-sacrifice, through peaceful and non-violence satyagrah to rouse the conscience of the Indian people and Government and also of the Government of Jammu & Kashmir with a view to make them conscious of the dangers of Sheikh Abdullah's policy of unbridled separatism and to persuade them to change it in the wider interests of the people of the state and the unity of India

THE SATYAGRAH:-

Our satyagrah which began on the 17th of November, 1952 continued without break till 7th July, 1953 when it was withdrawn. During these 8 months terrible engines of suppression were let loose against us by the Government of Kashmir with the help of Government of India. Most virulent kind of propaganda campaign was also started against us within and outside the state. Not the courage, forbearance restraint in the face of gravest provocation and above all faith in the justice of our cause shown by the people of Jammu proved too much for the might of both the Governments. Their bullets, lathies, Gas bombs as also their systematic campaign of looting harrassing, dishonouring the women in most barbaric

manner and of humiliating the people in various other ways failed to dampen the spirit of our people. Ultimately the oppressor had to admit his defeat. His failure to cow us down has become as patent as the vindications of the cause which we struggled.

TRIBUTE TO MARTYRS:-

I take this opportunity to pay on your behalf and on my behalf our humble tribute to all those martyrs and fighters, known and unknown, who responded to the call of the Parishad and laid down their lives or suffered in other ways. Their sacrifices and sufferings have not gone in vain. They have put new life in our people and created new confidence in them. They have ensured our existence as a free and honourable people in our own homeland as an integral part of India.

THANKS TO THE PEOPLE OF INDIA:-

The role played by the people of India in our struggle which in its ultimate analysis was the struggle for the unity of India has been equally glorious. Under the leadership of Dr. Shyama Prasad Mukherjee the Bhartya Jan Sangh, the Hindu Mahasabha and the Ram Rajya Parishad extended their active support to us. They made our cause their own, shared our sufferings and grief and thereby proved that unity of India is a living faith in the hearts of the Indian people. Even those who did not actively help us had a word of sympathy for us. In fact it will not be an exaggeration to say that the Congress rulers of India stood isolated in the policy they pursued toward us. The country was with us and it made the greatest sacrifice in the death of Dr. Mukherjee for our cause. I take this opportunity to thank my countrymen outside the state on behalf of the people of the state for their deep and continued sympathy and interest in us.

OUR STAND VINDICATED:-

The hollowness of the propaganda made against us by both the Governments and those who take their clue from the men in power has been thoroughly exposed by now. The events have proved that we were right and that our critics were either misinformed or their judgement had been clouded by prejudices and parties spirit. Our demand for abolition of customs, protection of supreme court etc. was as much for good of the people of Kashmir as of Jammu. In fact the people of Kashmir stood to gain much more than the people of Jammu by the economic and other reforms demanded by the Parishad. The Wazir Committee which consisted entirely of the officials and therefore could not be suspected of partiality for the Parishad has in its report substantially vindicated the stand of the Parishad about land reforms and other economic matters! It is a pity that this report has not been made public so far.

But the real success of our movement lies in the fact that the Government of India as also majority of the ruling group of Kashmir ultimately realised the dangers of the separatist policies of Sheikh

Abdullah is an internal matter of the party in power in the state yet the

fact remains that he has been dismissed mainly on those grounds for which he was opposed by the Parishad. But for our movement he might have continued to deceive the people of Kashmir and of the whole country and might have succeeded in his deep laid conspiracies with foreign powers. There cannot be a surer vindication of the stand of any movement than the one provided by the recent course events in Kashmir for our movement.

THE CHANGE OF GOVERNMENT:-

But the change of the Government in itself is not of much significance so far as the Parishad is concerned. Bakhshi Ghulam Mohammad and two of his Cabinet colleagues were members of Abdullah's Government as well, and they too must share the blame for his antinational policies. They cannot shield themselves by saying that they were not heard and that Sheikh Abdullah had become a Dictator. What did the so called representative of Jammu in Abdullah Government do when inhuman torture and repression was being perpetrated on the people of Jammu? What did they do to save the life of our great leader, Dr. Mookerjee, whose life was a national trust in their hands. One of them even tried to defend Sheikh Abdullah by issuing the statement which gave entirely wrong facts about Dr. Mookerjee's death.

NO CAUSE FOR JUBILIATION:-

There is ~~this~~ no question of our jubilation over the change. We had no grudge against the person of Sheikh Abdullah. We were opposed to his policies which, as is now admitted at all hands, have proved ruinous to the state. Our attitude towards the new Government will depend on the policies it pursues. If it will honestly work for the betterment of the lot ^{of} the people and for bridging the gulf that Sheikh Abdullah's Government had created between the people of Jammu and Kashmir on the one side and between the state and the rest of India on the other, it will have our cooperation in the fullest measure. We did offer our cooperation to Sheikh Abdullah as well when he took over the administration of the state. Had he not spurned it and had he cared to listen to those who did not agree with him the situation today might have been quite different. I hope that Bakhshi Ghulam Mohammad will not follow in the footsteps of Sheikh Abdullah in this respect. No doubt, he had begun very well. But so did Sheikh Abdullah. It is for him to prove by his actions that he is different man. Let us hope that he will do so in that case he will find we are his best friends.

CO-OPERATION OF EQUALS:-

Our co-operation however will be the cooperation of equals and not of a subordinate with master. We want the people of Jammu, Kashmir and Ladakh to live and prosper as equal partners in the discharge of duties and responsibilities that have fallen on their shoulders. We want all the different parts of the state to remain united in bonds of freedom and mutual trust unmitigated by any feeling domination of one part over the other so that the state as a whole may grow as indivisible part of

India, the common motherland of us all.

ACCESSION & PLEBISCITE:-

As regards the fundamental question of state's future affiliation Praja Parishad has made its stand clear. We consider the accession of the Jammu & Kashmir state to India as final and irrevocable. There may be difference of opinions about the degree of cohesion but we do not think any loyal citizen of the state can ever question the factum of accession.

HARMFUL AND UNCALLED FOR:-

It is why we consider the talk of plebiscite to decide the future of the state as wholly harmful and uncalled for. Jammu & Kashmir state has since times immemorial been an integral part of India geographically, culturally as well as economically. It became legally and constitutionally a part of India when the Maharaja signed the instrument of accession with the approval of the major political parties of the state.

The common sufferings of the people of the state and the rest of India in the defence of the state against Pakistani aggressors during the last six years have cemented with the blood the age old ties binding us with the rest of India. The supreme sacrifice of the greatest son of India, has further strengthened these ties. It is impossible for us today even to entertain any move which might tend to break or weaken these ties. We are determined to remain indivisible part of mother India and no power on earth can deflect us from our resolve. We will resist to the last man any effort to cut ourselves as under from India, plebiscite or no plebiscite.

PAKISTAN HAS NO LOCUS STANDI:-

We cannot understand the insistence of Pakistan about plebiscite. In the first place Pakistan has no business to interfere in the internal matters of state and India. Offer of ascertaining the will of the people

was made by the Government of India to the people of the state if so decided by them. Secondly Pakistan cannot talk about plebiscite, which is essentially a path of peace, so long as she continues to keep in aggressive occupation of one third part of state and so long as her press and radio continue to cry for war and Jihad. She must know that cries of war and plebiscite cannot go together. She must make up her mind as to what she really wants. Pakistan is mistaken if she thinks that her threats can cow down the people of the state who have had a fore taste of what Pakistan means during the Pakistani invasion in 1947. Furthermore to allow

Pakistan to be a party to plebiscite in the state is to create the religious frenzy in the state which has become the hall mark of Pakistan today.

India and the people of the state cannot allow the poison of religious fanaticism to be injected into the body politic of the state once again. We therefore call upon the Government of India not to give any encouragement to Pakistan by entering into pacts about plebiscite with her. The people of the state do not want it, because they are convinced that it cannot serve any useful purpose and will only disturb the peace of the state and vitiate its atmosphere. The Praja Parishad cannot be party to it.

NEED OF VIGILANCE:-

We also want the government of India to be more vigilant about the development in the state. It cannot be absolved from the responsibilities for the policies of Abdullah Government which had jeopardised the very existence of the state. The Government ~~xx~~ must also take immediate steps to stop the machinations and intrigue of the agents of foreign powers who have, of late, been very active in the valley.

REFUGEES TO BE REHABILITATED:-

The condition of the refugees from the Pakistan occupied areas of the state also demands immediate attention of the government. Many of them are still wandering in other parts of the country. They yearn to be back in the state. Those who are in the state have not yet been rehabilitated. The previous government had been very callous towards them. We expect the Bakhshi government to take immediate steps to resettle them so that their misery may be ended.

OUR DUTY:-

While it is our duty to press upon the government to take steps to improve the condition of people we ourselves cannot afford to sit idle. During last six years of its existence the Praja Parishad had to launch satyagrah movements a number of times to make the voice of the people heard by those in authority. It has been a period of continuous struggle or preparation for struggle. Our people have suffered a lot during this period. Many of them have been utterly ruined. They deserved our first attention. We should set up a committee to enquire into cases of repression and hardship. It will have to move in the illaqa collect evidences and submit its report to the Parishad. We will have to do what ever little we can to help them. I also expect the Kashmir government to take immediate steps to compensate them. That is the least it can do to expiate for its sins of omission and commission. It is also necessary for creation of an atmosphere of goodwill and cordiality in the state.

MEMORIAL TO DR. MOOKERJEE:-

It is also our duty to do something to perpetuate the memory of those who have laid down their lives for our cause. The greatest of them was Dr. Shyama Prasad Mookerjee. It is our duty to set up a befitting memorial to him and other martyrs. For that purpose we should set up a "Dr. Mookerjee and Jammu Martyrs ~~memorial memorial~~ committee" to collect funds for raising the memorial. I hope the people of the state will contribute liberally toward the memorial funds.

ENQUIRY INTO DR. MOOKERJEE'S DEATH:-

It is a matter of deep pain that the circumstances of the death of Dr. Mookerjee still remained shrouded in mystery and grave doubts have been expressed about the events leading to it. We should reiterate our demand which is also the demand of 370 millions people of India that government should institute an impartial commission consisting of judges of supreme court to enquire into this matter. Otherwise those doubts will

turn into confirmed belief which would not be in the interest of the government and will also shake the foundation of democracy in the country.

COMPLETE THE ORGANISATIONAL STRUCTURE:-

We have also to address ourselves to the organisational work. A draft constitution is being placed before you. I hope you will pass it. It will be our duty to organise the countryside on the basis of this constitution in the shortest possible period. A time table for this purpose will soon be announced. The Praja Parishad is an organisation of the masses and workers and it has received the fullest support of all sections of societies. It is for us now to harness this universal support and give us a permanent standing by spreading out the work of our organisation to the remotest villages.

THREE FOLD CONSTRUCTIVE PROGRAMME:-

At the same time we have to turn to constructive activities. So far our attention and energies were mainly concentrated on struggle. The struggle had its advantages. Besides creating awakening in the people it has brought into the fore-front persons who can make real servants of the people and who have ability and statenesship to carry their cause to success. But now that we have got some respite from the struggle, we must turn our attention to equally important work of internal reconstruction. There is large field and scope for it. Our people are backward and neglected. They need our guidance and help. The constructive activities can take many forms. I recommend the following three fold programme for your consideration:-

1. Ours is a land of villages. Villages have been the centre of social Economic as well cultural life of our people. There can be no improvement in the life of people so long as the villages remain neglected and present trend of educated people moving out of the villages to towns and cities continues. I would like you to improve the life of villages through construction of link roads, planning and lining of villages streets, opening of schools and reading rooms and taking in your hand such other things as can be accomplished by voluntary effort of the local people. Many of the villages have some families of ex-servicemen. They can give the benefit of their experience for the improvement of village life. Efforts should also be made to start cottage industries in the villages wherever possible.

2. Many of our people are illiterate and absolutely ignorant about ordinary rules of health. As a result the general health of the people is fast falling. The Parishad workers may take in their hands the work of educating the people particular in respect of rules of health. Something must also be done to check the growing evil of drink.

3. Though many of the evils of castism and baradristm have been removed and the people of Jammu have been working as one man under the leadership of Parishad yet some more effort is needed to create social cohesion on our society. We must pay particular attention to backward section of our society and create in them a sense of confidence and

oneness with the rest of the community through our behaviour. Attention must also be paid to our muslim brethren who must be made to feel that they are one of us. The Muslim of the state have the same blood and inheritors of the same culture as the Hindu. It is the duty of the Parishad workers to rekindle in their hearts love for that heritage and also of the common mother land through development of social relation with them.

The speeches of our new Premier Bakhshi Ghulam Mohammad have created hopes in the minds of the people. They show an insight into the real problem of the state. But it is essential that the hopes created are speedily fulfilled. I am happy to note that has already taken some steps in the right direction. But much however remains to be accomplished. I trust that his enthusiasm in this respect will continue unabated till the economic rehabilitation of the people of the state is achieved.

THE GOAL YET TO BE ACHIEVED:-

But even more important for us is the question of fuller unity of our state with the rest of India. We have already made some progress toward the achievement of this goal. But much still remains to be done. For that we will have to be active and vigilant. I hope that state government has by now realised the intensity of the feeling of the people on this question and it will take speedy step to bring about financial integration of the state with India and do such other things as are necessary to bring the state into the position in which like other acceding states it will be entitled to claim all those benefits which other states derive from the centre and without which it will not be possible to develop the resources of the state and improve the economic conditions of its people.

JAI BHARAT.

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